ART EXHIBITION CATALOGUES REPUBLISHED ON MICROFICHE

Published on microfiche by:

Chadwyck-Healey Ltd
20 Newmarket Road
Cambridge CB5 8DT
England

Somerset House
417 Maitland Avenue
Teaneck, NJ 07666
USA

Date of publication and production of master: 1978

Series: The purpose of this series is to make available those catalogues that have lasting interest through their text or their illustrations. Catalogues and cumulations of titles in the series are available from the publishers.

Serial numbers: Each title is identified by a three-part serial number. The first part of the serial number designates the sales list in which the title was first announced. The second part indicates the agent of publication, i.e. the museum, gallery or organisation that was responsible for the publication of the catalogue. The third part of the serial number is the number allotted to that title.

Copyright: The microfiche edition is the copyright of Chadwyck-Healey Ltd.

Location of original: Courtauld Institute of Art, 20 Portman Square, London.

Technical data:

Producing laboratory: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd.

COVER:

Woman's Dress
Arapaho
deerskin, painted, feathers attached
53" x 57"
Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Great Lakes Indian Museum, Cross Village, Michigan

I Wear the Morning Star

An Exhibition of American Indian Ghost Dance Objects

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts

co-sponsored by

The Minneapolis Regional Native American Center

July 29-September 26, 1976

EXHIBITION LOCATIONS

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Minneapolis

The Field Museum of Natural History
Chicago

The Museum of the American Indian,
The Heye Foundation, New York

Under a grant from the Affiliated
State Arts Councils of the Upper
Midwest, I WEAR THE MORNING STAR
will also be seen in selected museums
of the Upper Midwest.

Harold Peterson, *Editor*
Nancy Akre, *Editorial Assistant*
Ruth Dean, *Designer*
Gary Sherman, *Photographer*

Published by The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
2400 Third Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404
Copyright by The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1976
Library of Congress Catalogue Number: 76-21201

76-P739

A nami sa na, a nami sa na,
Ni ni ninga ti naku ni na na ga gu,
Ni na ninga ti naku ni na na ga gu,
Ti naha Ihihu na nisa na,
Ti naha Ihihu na nisa na,

Haihu na He suna-un,
Haihu na He suna-un.

My children, my children,
It is I who wear the morning star on my head,
It is I who wear the morning star on my head,
I show it to my children,
I show it to my children,
Says the father,
Says the father.

Extent and spread of the Ghost Dance with locations of selected tribes

A dramatic and powerful resurgence of traditional religious movements has taken place in contemporary Native American societies. The fires of the sweat lodges have been rekindled; the music of the sacred Sun Dance is again heard on the plains; the grandfather peyote is still honored in the rituals of the Native American Church; and the Ghost Dance, one of the most dramatic of ceremonies, is being sung and danced by Native Americans in the plains area.

Since the development of the Ghost Dance in the latter half of the nineteenth century and its tragic consequences at Wounded Knee in 1890, the religion has been quietly practiced in secluded areas of reservations, and its ritual songs and dances have been passed down from generation to generation.

This exhibition, *I Wear the Morning Star,* the first public display of Ghost Dance articles, depicts the beauty and splendor of the ritual clothing and objects used in the ceremony. The music, haunting and hypnotic, is an excellent supplement to this presentation honoring a lively and beautiful tradition.

Ron Libertus
Curator of the Museum
Minneapolis Regional Native
American Center

INTRODUCTION

Around 1889, Wovoka, a Paiute from Nevada, had a series of visions which precipitated a religious movement eventually embraced by more than thirty Indian tribes in North America. He passed on to his people the messages he received from God: live peacefully, do not lie, work hard. Besides this general ethic, God gave Wovoka directions for dancing what is known as the Ghost Dance, and further advised him that if Indians would live and act in the prescribed manner, they would soon experience a remaking of their world: white men and their unwanted influences would disappear; dead friends and relatives would return; and all would live happily together in the traditional way with plentiful game. Threatened with poverty, subjugation, and extinction, tribes rapidly took up this doctrine of hope. Within a few months people across the plains were practicing the new religion *(figure 1)*. As each group adapted the religion to its own needs and previous habits, variations arose in the ritual (such as the wearing of special clothing believed to render the wearers invulnerable to bullets). Regardless of the details of the ritual, however, the basic ideas of the religion were enthusiastically accepted.

In spite of the peaceful tenor of Wovoka's messages, white officials grew alarmed by the inherently anti-white movement. At Pine Ridge Agency, an inexperienced government agent and others over-reacted to a number of Sioux who had not heeded the prophet's warnings against violence, and a small incident sparked the infamous Wounded Knee massacre of December 29, 1890. Although participation in the religion dwindled after the massacre, the influence of the Ghost Dance continued to be felt long after its high point.

1. *Ghost Dance – Women Chanting with Arms Raised*
Photography by James Mooney, c. 1893
Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 55298

THE PROPHET WOVOKA

Wovoka *(figure 2)* was born about 1856 in Mason Valley, near the Walker River Indian Reservation in western Nevada. He spent his early childhood there with his family and later moved to the Wilson family ranch nearby, working as a ranch hand. Throughout his childhood he was exposed to prophetic religious ideas: first from his father, Tavibo, an important participant in the Ghost Dance of 1870 (which directly influenced the 1890 movement), and then from the Wilsons. His friendship with the Wilson boys allowed him to enter into their family life, and he often heard them read from the Bible.

In addition to these early experiences, Wovoka, along with other Paiutes, took the train to California, Oregon, and Washington to seek employment picking hops. There he surely heard of other movements similar to the Ghost Dance that were gaining momentum in the Northwest and probably also saw their accompanying dances and rituals.

Thus Wovoka (or Jack Wilson, as he was known to whites) was ready for the visions that came to him in his late twenties. On the Paiute reservation and in the Northwest, he had seen the dances of religious groups believing in the coming of a new era for Indians: an era which did not include whites or nonbelieving Indians and an era in which the old ways would prevail. He had heard Christian biblical predictions of the end of the world and the salvation of only those people who had led good lives. He was also familiar with the prevalent Indian method of gaining knowledge from visions.

Although Wovoka had probably been subject to trances and visions before, in the late 1880s, possibly while ill with smallpox, he had two important visions in which he received messages from God. In his first vision, he received five songs giving him power to control the weather; in his second vision he received instructions for dancing and information about the return of the dead. Because one of these trances coincided with a solar eclipse, its effect was overwhelming for Wovoka's followers.

During the height of the Ghost Dance movement the prophet received emissaries from various tribes desiring to learn the doctrines firsthand. These emissaries carried both verbal and written messages, took sacred objects — especially ochre paint — back to their people, and conveyed their impressions of Wovoka. The prophet himself sometimes felt unwanted pressure to perform acts proving his power and expressed dismay at several misinterpretations of his messages. One of his visitors in the winter of 1891-92 was James Mooney, one of the first United States government anthropologists. As an investigator on the plains, Mooney was in the right place at the right time when the prophet's news began spreading. The anthropologist followed up on reports of events as fast as he could. In his classic report of the movement, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, he described Wovoka:

As he approached I saw that he was a young man, a dark full blood, compactly built and taller than the Paiute generally, 6 feet in height. He was well dressed in white man's clothes, with the broad-brimmed white felt hat common in the west secured on his head by means of a beaded ribbon under the chin. This, with a blanket or robe of rabbit skins, is now the ordinary Paiute dress. He wore a good pair of boots. His hair was cut off square on a line below the base of the ears, after the manner of his tribe. His countenance was open and expressive of firmness and decision, but with no marked intellectuality. The features were broad and heavy, very different from the thin, clear-cut features of the prairie tribes.

As he came up he took my hand with a strong hearty grasp and inquired what was wanted. His uncle explained matters, adding that I was well acquainted with some of his Indian friends who had visited him before and was going back to the same people. After some deliberation he said the whites had lied about him and he did not like to talk to them; some of the Indians had disobeyed his instructions and trouble had come of it, but as I was sent by Washington and was a friend of his friends, he would talk with me. He was hunting now, but if we would come to his camp that night he would tell us about his mission.[2]

2. *Wovoka, the Paiute Prophet, before 1927*
Courtesy of Nevada Historical Society

Although some called Wovoka a fraud, to his followers he remained a respected holy man and native doctor until his death near Yerington, Nevada, in 1932. Among believers, Wovoka's fame as the leader of the Ghost Dance continues into the twentieth century.

THE GHOST DANCE DOCTRINE

In the prophet Wovoka's visions, his tribe's ancestors were happy, busy, and forever young. God promised Wovoka that if he would preach goodness and nonviolence, all the dead would return to earth and resume their previous lives. But prosperous aboriginal conditions would be restored only if the Ghost Dance rituals were properly performed. Then, at the right time, a disaster would exterminate whites and leave believing Indians and their dead ancestors happily immortal. Direct and brief, Wovoka's own letter, carried by Cheyenne and Arapaho delegates, best describes his doctrine.

When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do in the same way.

I, Jack Wilson, love you all, and my heart is full of gladness for the gifts you have brought me. When you get home I shall give you a good cloud [rain] which will make you feel good. I give you a good spirit and give you all good paint. I want you to come again in three months, some from each tribe there [the Indian Territory].

There will be a good deal of snow this year and some rain. In the fall there will be such a rain as I have never given you before.

Grandfather [a universal title of reverence among Indians and here meaning the messiah] says, when your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life. This young man has a good father and mother. [Possibly this refers to Casper Edson, the young Arapaho who wrote down this message of Wovoka for the delegation].

Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon the earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes [at the coming of the new world] do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies.[3]

All tribes believed that whites would be eliminated by supernatural forces (except the Sioux, who took a warlike means to the same end), but even the basic part of the doctrine varied from group to group. The Arapaho were planning to go to the mountain to escape the flood which they believed would sweep the earth, turning skeptics to stone and leaving a new surface on which game would once again abound. The Cheyenne believed the earth was getting too old and small, so God was going to give up heaven and remodel it and earth to make room for both the living and the dead. The Shoshone said a four-day sleep would come over all believers, who would then awaken on the fifth day to a new world. The Walapai awaited a hurricane, the thunder of which would kill whites and nonbelievers.

What caused such variations? Clearly Wovoka's letter was vague enough to allow many different interpretations. But the character of each tribe determined its own particular interpretation, as Mooney suggested when he described a revealing incident:

The Cheyenne and Arapaho, although for generations associated in the most intimate manner, are of very different characters. In religious matters it may be said briefly that the Arapaho are devotees and prophets, continually seeing signs and wonders, while the Cheyenne

are more skeptical. In talking with Tall Bull, one of the Cheyenne delegates and then captain of the Indian police, he said that before leaving they had asked Wovoka to give them some proof of his supernatural powers. Accordingly he had ranged them in front of him, seated on the ground, he sitting facing them with his sombrero between and his eagle feathers in his hand. Then with a quick movement he had put his hand into the empty hat and drawn out from it "something black." Tall Bull would not admit that anything more had happened, and did not seem to be very profoundly impressed by the occurrence, saying that he thought there were medicine men of capacity among the Cheyenne. In talking soon afterward with Black Coyote, one of the Arapaho delegates and also a police officer, the same incident came up, but with a very different sequel. Black Coyote told how they had seated themselves on the ground in front of Wovoka, as described by Tall Bull, and went on to tell how the messiah had waved his feathers over his hat and then, when he withdrew his hand, Black Coyote looked into the hat and there "saw the whole world."[4]

THE DANCE AND RITUAL

Wovoka's instructions for the dance, the main expression of the new religion, left plenty of room for variations in ritual. The instructions supplied the framework and stimulus for the movement; each culture then filled in the details according to its patterns (*figures 1 and 3*).

If, for instance, a tribe was not accustomed to dancing around a pole, the center of the dance floor was left empty, although dancing around a pole was standard. Individuals in some tribes fell into trances during the dance; in other tribes nobody had trances or visions.

On the other hand, the new dance also gave rise to new ritual practices, even though the religion's basic idea was to revive old practices. For example, among the Sioux, each woman wore a feather in her hair, previously a custom reserved for men. In some tribes for the first time men and women danced together holding hands. Bulletproof clothing was characteristic of the Sioux, although whether Wovoka ever suggested that special clothing would protect dancers was and still is a matter of controversy.

The way in which the Sioux performed the Ghost Dance was fairly typical, except, perhaps, for their use of the sweat bath. Preparations included song rehearsals, consecrating the ground, auxiliary rituals and dances, and face painting. Mooney describes the rest of the Sioux ceremony, beginning with the face painting:

After the sweating ceremony the dancer was painted by the medicine-men who acted as leaders, of whom Sitting Bull was accounted the greatest among the Sioux. The design and color varied with the individual, being frequently determined by a previous trance vision of the subject, but circles, crescents, and crosses, representing respectively the sun, the moon, and the morning star, were always favorite figures upon forehead, face, and cheeks. As this was not a naked dance, the rest of the body was not usually painted. After the painting the dancer was robed in the sacred ghost shirt already described. This was also painted with symbolic figures, among which were usually represented sun, moon, or stars, the eagle, magpie, crow, or sage-hen, all sacred to the Ghost dance among the Sioux. In connection with the painting the face and body were rubbed with the sweet-smelling vernal grass (Hierochloe), used for this purpose by many of the prairie tribes, and sometimes also burned as incense in their sacred ceremonies or carried as a perfume in small pouches attached to the clothing.

The painting occupied most of the morning, so that it was about noon before the participants formed the circle for the dance. Among the Sioux, unlike the southern and western tribes, generally, a small tree was planted in the center of the circle, with an American flag or colored streamers floating from the top. Around the base of this tree sat the priests. At a great dance at No Water's camp on White River near Pine Ridge, shortly before the arrival of the troops, a young woman standing within the circle gave the signal for

4. *The Ghost Dance — Unconscious, Arapaho, 1893*
Photograph probably by James Mooney, c. 1893
Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 53913

the performance by shooting into the air toward the cardinal points four sacred arrows, made after the old primitive fashion with bone heads, and dipped in the blood of a steer before being brought to the dance. These were then gathered up and tied to the branches of the tree, together with the bow, a gaming wheel and sticks, and a peculiar staff or wand with horns . . . . Another young woman, or the same one, remained standing near the tree throughout the dance, holding a sacred redstone pipe stretched out toward the west, the direction from which the messiah was to appear.

At the beginning, the performers, men and women, sat on the ground in a large circle around the tree. A plaintive chant was then sung, after which a vessel of some sacred food was passed around the circle until everyone had partaken, when, at a signal by the priests, the dancers rose to their feet, joined hands, and began to chant the opening song and move slowly around the circle from right to left. The rest of the performance, with its frenzies, trances, and recitals of visions, was the same as with the southern tribes, as will be described in detail hereafter. Like these tribes also, the Sioux usually selected Sunday, the great medicine day of the white man, for the ceremony.[5]

Trances were also important among the Arapaho *(figure 4)* and Cheyenne; Mooney participated in the dances and became interested in the phenomenon.

From the outside hardly anything can be seen of what goes on within the circle, but being a part of the circle myself I was able to see all that occurred inside, and by fixing attention on one subject at a time I was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon from the time the subject first attracted the notice of the medicine-man, through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle.

Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men. Sometimes, however, a man proves as sensitive as the average woman.[6]

During the trances, participants had visions in which they learned songs, games, and other aspects of life in tune with tradition. Most of the songs accompanying the Ghost Dance were acquired through such visions.

One of the least typical of the Ghost Dances was that of the Pawnee led by Frank White, who had learned it in 1891 from other tribes who performed it in a more standard way. White, when he returned to his people to teach them the religion, installed himself and six other men as leaders of dances which included complicated ceremonies, the use of ritual bundles, and dancing to the east of a large, sacred Ghost Dance tipi into which the leaders retired from time to time.[7]

After Frank White's death in 1893 the Pawnee took up a more orthodox form of the dance, in which everyone participated fully.

The use of a special tipi — originally incorporated into few, if any, other tribes' dances — was later regarded as correct in any Ghost Dance, and Wovoka himself gave instructions to a Pawnee delegation in 1904 regarding a sacred tipi to be set up in the center of camps gathered for dancing.[8]

SPREAD OF THE NEW RELIGION

With Wovoka's letter and the first delegates from non-Nevadian tribes, the rapid spread of the religion began. Traditional and nontraditional methods aided its diffusion; by way of the U.S. mail and the railroads, the ideas surely gained more followers than they would have at an earlier time.

White people, too, soon learned of the Ghost Dance. Wovoka wrote a letter to Washington which was lost or never delivered, but we have a report of it in a letter from a white official at Walker Lake to the Indian agent at Wadsworth:

You will doubtless be amazed at the letter you will have received from Jack Wilson the prophet when this reached you he has got the Indians all wild at his wonderful command of the elements he claims he alone is responsible for the storms of this season and they all firmly believe it. The letter he has written as he supposes to Washington is for the purpose of finding out if the government believes in him as a prophet. There was at least 200 Indians to say nothing of the squaws and papooses turned out yesterday in the face of a driving snowstorm to see and hear him they took up quite a collection for his benefit fully $25 and would talk of nothing but Jack Wilson and the miracles he performs. He would like to be allowed to come on the Reservation to farm and guarantees the Indians that if the Government gives him permission to come he will cause lots of rain to fall and they will never lose a crop again. They are expecting a reply to his letter and if you see fit to answer as in your judgment would be proper.[9]

Other whites were also interested. The rituals of the Ghost Dance were photographed, recorded on wax cylinders, reported in newspapers and magazines, and described in books. Reporters rushed to cover its most tragic hour at Wounded Knee. In fact, more correspondents were present at the event than had covered all previous Indian-White confrontations.[10]

But the Indian visits and messages are what concern us most. Although proselytizing was rare in most of the native religions, Ghost Dance "missionaries" — among them Sitting Bull, the Arapaho — went to tribes other than their own to actively spread the news. The delegations from different tribes to Nevada, sometimes traveling against government agents' orders, stopped at reservations on the way there and back, discussing the doctrine and picking up companions for their trips.

The earliest spread of the Ghost Dance was, naturally, to other bands of Paiutes in Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. From this nucleus the doctrine spread to some tribes to the north and south, to the northern plains *(figure 5)*, and to the southern plains.

In the oral and written literature about the Ghost Dance we have enough documentation to trace in detail most of the spread of the new religion through missionaries, delegations to Wovoka, and word of mouth from one tribe to another. Notable in the written literature are several letters to Wovoka, now in the Nevada Historical Society.[11]

5. *Sioux Ghost Dancers at Standing Rock Reservation, North Dakota*
Photograph by D. F. Barry
Courtesy of Nebraska Historical Society, Photo No. 1392-135

Arapahoe, Wyoming.
Fremont Co. April 30-11

Dear Father in christ, Jack Wilson,

Today I am thinking of you and I would like to Write you a few lines to you this morning and to let you know that I am well with my folks and also my wife was very Sickness for along time. But she go round now days and and she go down River to take a cold Bath in water and she Said she fells much Better after she take Bath. And rest of Indians are well. Some of Indians are Farming for oats and wheat and some out working for Shearing time, now I want to ask you some thing, my Brother came from Oklahoma and he want me to go with him to your country to visit you, he would like to see you very much. So I wish you Please tell us if is alright to visit you. my Brother he is waiting for his money from Oklahoma. But we would like to hear from you. before we start off. to your Place-and I wish you Please send us little Painted if you got to spare and tell us some news that is if any news from this spring, or anything go on - let us hear from you by return mail.

I am yours truly,

F. W. Antelope
and American Horse.

Pine Ridge, So. Dak.,
April 29, 1911.

Jack Wilson,
Nordyke, Nev.

Dear Father: Why do you not write to me. I sit with you and I write to you this letter. I hope I will come to see you. I send you a dollar bill. Why dont you answer me?

When you get this letter answer soon, Father. This man writing a letter for me but he lives far and this man write for me this letter.

This man a good man write for me this letter. I sit with Cloud horse and we write this letter.

Your loving son, I shake hands with you, Answer quick when you get this letter.

Cloud Horse

Address answer to Red Star
Pine Ridge, So. Dak.

Kyle Post Office
Dec. 13, 1911

Dear Father:—

Your letter has been received and I was very glad indeed to hear from you dear father

Now I am going to send you a pair of mocissions but if they are not long enough for you when you write again please send me you foot measure from this day on—I will try to get the money to send to you. I wish I had it just at present I would send it wright away.

I think I might get the money soon enough to send it so that is why I say that so. I will get it just as soon as possible and be sure to send it so if you get a letter from me I may have the money in that letter so dear Father this will be all. I can answer you so for your sake all the Indians out here make fun of me but I allways think dear Father that around me you would give me strength. so if you get the money I want that medican and some good feathers & that paint so that is what I want you to send me.

So this is all for this time. I give a good & hard shaking of the hands to you I hope you have pity on me

I remain your son

Cloud Man Horse

Eventually, people in all of these tribes were dancing the Ghost Dance: Paiute, Bannock, Shoshoni, Gosiute, Ute, Pit River, Mohave, Walapai, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Mission, Northern Arapaho, Southern Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Assiniboine, Northern Cheyenne, Southern Cheyenne, Teton Dakota, Yankton Dakota, Caddo, Wichita, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Delaware, Kitsai, Comanche, Pawnee, Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Iowa, and Kansa.[12]

At least one group had an opportunity to adopt the religion but did not: the Navajo. Mainly because of their strong feelings about the dead, they simply could not commit themselves to a system of ideas stressing the return of the dead. As one scholar has put it, "The Navajo were frightened out of their wits for fear the tenets of the movement were true."[13]

The rapid spread of the Ghost Dance and its popularity — among the Sioux people, 20,000 actively participated[14] — were due in part to the nature of the religion itself. Its

great human appeal, its lack of complex beliefs and intricate taboos, and its inclusion of everyone allowed tribes to participate immediately upon learning about it. Beneath the surface appeal of the religion, however, further factors were at work to influence the size of the movement.

ORIGINS

The roots of the Ghost Dance of 1890 lie in native mythology. Ancient wood, bone, and stone carvings found in the Northwest give evidence of old ghost cults.[15] Also, "Among the North American Indians, one of the fundamental myths was the belief that a culture-hero would one day appear and lead them to a terrestrial paradise. Under certain conditions these myths have become the ideological basis for messianic movements."[16] These two characteristics along with a tradition of trances and visions, take the beginnings of the Ghost Dance back to a time before white men set foot in North America.

Building on this basis, two religions appeared in the Northwest in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The Shakers at Puget Sound, followers of the prophet John Slocum, practiced a religion influenced by Catholicism. They stressed the salvation of Indians and a happy afterlife. The Dreamers on the Columbia River, following their prophet Smohalla, were much less influenced by Christianity and had an overtly anti-white doctrine. They believed that the dead would return and swell their numbers, giving them strength to overcome the whites.

These religions should sound familiar to anyone acquainted with the 1890 Ghost Dance doctrine; even more similar was the Ghost Dance of 1870. In fact, the later religion could be said to be a revival of the earlier movement.

The history of the Ghost Dance of 1870 began in the 1860s when a Paiute named Wodziwob, who lived near Walker Lake, gained fame as a medicine man and sponsor of dances. He began to share the visions he had with his people: God was on His way, bringing back the dead; Indians must dance in a circle for five nights; if they lived good lives and stopped sinning, piñon nuts and game would come back. Among Wodziwob's assistants was Tavibo, Wovoka's father. By 1870, the doctrine was set and the religion began to spread to the west. Proselytizing Indians carried it to thirteen tribes in Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Although it died out rather quickly, survivals remain, and it influenced a number of similar cults in the 1870s.

Thus we can trace a thread from the original religions to the Northwest cults of Shakers and Dreamers (known to the Paiutes), to Wodziwob and the Ghost Dance of 1870, and finally through Tavibo to Wovoka and the Ghost Dance of 1890.[17]

It is tempting to consider the ideas of the Ghost Dance religion of 1890 as having originated far back in time and simply having been passed on from tribe to tribe, sometimes slowly, but sometimes very rapidly, as in 1870 and 1890. This is a legitimate way of looking at the phenomenon but it might usefully be combined with a broader outlook gained through examining concurrent developments affecting the lives of American Indians.

UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE GHOST DANCE

By the late nineteenth century, conditions among Indians in the United States were such that they were ready to accept a religion like the Ghost Dance. At a cultural impasse — deprived not only of the accoutrements of the white way of life, but also of their own ways — many Indians were receptive to a doctrine of hope.

At the bottom of the conflict between natives and non-natives lay different attitudes toward land. In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase extended the United States' boundaries by approximately a million square miles. Within this acquisition lived dozens of tribes which had, in the previous century, already experienced indirect pressures from the growing nation. As the tribes of the East lost their homes, they moved west into territories which

were occupied by other Indians. Tribes which had the most contact with whites possessed guns and usually succeeded in driving indigenous inhabitants off their land. The newly dispossessed would then be forced to move into another tribe's territory.

The following two passages illustrate the attitudes of John Quincy Adams (1802) and Thomas Jefferson (1803), respectively, towards land use and ownership.

The Indian right of possession itself stands, with regard to the greatest part of the country, upon a questionable foundation. Their cultivated fields; their constructed habitations; a space of ample sufficiency for their subsistence, and whatever they had annexed to themselves by personal labor, was undoubtedly by the law of nature theirs. But what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles over which he accidentally ranged in quest of prey? Shall the liberal bounties of Providence to the race of man be monopolized by one of the thousand for whom they were created? Shall the exuberant bosom of the common mother, amply adequate to the nourishment of millions, be claimed exclusively by a few hundreds of her offspring.[18]

To promote this disposition to exchange lands which they (Indians) have to spare and we want, for necessaries which we have to spare and they want, we shall be glad to see the good and influential among them in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.[19]

Motivated by these policies, explorers and settlers expanded the frontier. The search for gold and fur-bearing animals exposed Indians to white people and their political and social institutions and material objects.

The predominant — one might say overriding — concern of the influential whites of a century ago was somehow to place the savage tribes on the evolutionary railroad track to civilization. Without examining the popular folklore of social evolutionary theories, whites assumed that nations of men followed inexorable rules of development. Arriving at national consciousness in a hunting state, the embryo-nation was supposed to pass eventually to an agricultural state and then gradually evolve into a modern urban society. This process was believed to be part of God's divine plan and American History was perverted to explain the process. Whether the present collective amnesia which blocks a recognition of America's violent past developed during the closing years of the last century is irrelevant compared with obvious beliefs, found in the writings of the past, that things had happened in a certain way, perhaps revealing a divine plan for America.[20]

In 1877, Sitting Bull, the Sioux, described how intolerable the whites' ways were to the land's original inhabitants:

What treaty that the whites have kept has the red man broken? Not one. What treaty that the white man ever made with us have they kept? Not one. When I was a boy the Sioux owned the world; the sun rose and set on their land; they sent ten thousand men to battle. Where are the warriors today? Who slew them? Where are our lands? Who owns them? What white man can say I ever stole his land or a penny of his money? Yet they say I am a thief. What white woman, however lonely, was ever captive or insulted by me? Yet they say I am a bad Indian. What white man has ever seen me drunk? Who has ever come to me hungry and unfed? Who has ever seen me beat my wives or abuse my children? What law have I broken? Is it wrong for me to love my own? Is it wicked for me because my skin is red? Because I am a Sioux; because I was born where my father lived; because I would die for my people and my country?[21]

An 1860 treaty between the United States and the Sioux, which left the Sioux comparatively rich in land, was severely weakened by another agreement in 1876, which, along with other factors, severely threatened their way of life. As Commissioner Morgan said at the time:

Prior to the agreement of 1876 buffalo and deer were the main support of the Sioux. Food, tents, bedding were the direct outcome of

hunting, and with furs and pelts as articles of barter or exchange it was easy for the Sioux to procure whatever constituted for them the necessaries, the comforts, or even the luxuries of life. Within eight years from the agreement of 1876 the buffalo had gone and the Sioux had left to them alkali land and government rations. It is hard to overestimate the magnitude of the calamity, as they viewed it, which happened to these people by the sudden disappearance of the buffalo and the large diminution in the numbers of deer and other wild animals. Suddenly, almost without warning, they were expected at once and without previous training to settle down to the pursuits of agriculture in a land largely unfitted for such use. The freedom of the chase was to be exchanged for the idleness of the camp. The boundless range was to be abandoned for the circumscribed reservation, and abundance of plenty to be supplanted by limited and decreasing government subsistence and supplies. Under these circumstances it is not in human nature not to be discontented and restless, even turbulent and violent.[22]

Spiritually, too, the native way of life was changed. In 1869, to prevent the various Christian sects from fighting among themselves over the opportunity to convert Indians, the U.S. Senate parceled out Christianity, one denomination per reservation.[23] And various local government agents declared the Sun Dance, the great ceremony of the plains, illegal. Coercion into an alien religion which, as Indians perceived it, had little to do with their present lives, was illogical and confusing.

Other white men overtly attempted to eradicate Indians, as apparent from a statement in an 1889 Arizona newspaper: "'Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast' . . . and it is said that the most effective is the whistle of a well-aimed bullet."[24]

Besides such direct threats, encroaching white settlements put indirect pressures on Indians. Crowding, new wants which could not be satisfied, and shifts of status within tribes were all caused by contact with whites and led to cultural breakdown. Through long chains of communication and trade, a tribe could feel the influence of whites before their actual arrival.[25]

Indians on the Columbia River in 1810 were subject to European diseases to which they had no immunities. The resulting extreme population decline and abandonment of villages contributed to rapid tribal and cultural breakdown well before whites arrived to settle the area.[26]

A history of the Paiutes' experiences with white people[27] is an appropriate conclusion to a discussion of the conditions which prepared so many Indians for the Ghost Dance, both because the Paiute experience is representative of the experiences of other western Indians and because Wovoka, the Ghost Dance messiah, was a Paiute.

On the east side of the Sierras, in the dry valleys of the Great Basin, the Washo, Northern and Southern Paiute, and Shoshone began to feel the influence of fur trappers in the 1820s. In 1833, Joseph Reddeford Walker killed some forty Paiutes who visited his camp at Walker Lake. When his expedition returned to the same place a year later, it was again met by Indians who seemed to want to have a council. Again Walker attacked and that time killed fourteen Indians. Nine years later Walker crossed the Great Basin near the Carson Sink. His party attacked a group of Indians and killed sixteen. While approaching the mountains, Walker once more fought the Paiutes and killed twenty-four. On the first two occasions there is no evidence that the Paiutes' intentions were hostile.

More and more white people intruded into the valleys east of the Sierra reserve. An observer reported, "There was great excitement among the people on account of the fearful news coming from different tribes that the people whom they called their white brothers were killing everybody that came in their way, and all the Indian tribes had gone into the mountains to save their lives."[28]

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 increased the number of wagons crossing the Great Basin and two years later Mormons began to settle at Genoa in the Carson Valley. Soon afterward a government agent investigated the

tribes in the area, finding them still friendly and helpful to white people who crossed their land.

Two reservations were established for the Northern Paiute in 1858: one at Pyramid Lake and one at Walker Lake. Apparently the Walker Lake Paiutes had had some contact with white people, since it was reported in 1855 that some of them dressed like white people and spoke a little English. The discovery of gold on the eastern slope of Sun Mountain in the Carson Valley in June, 1859, brought 10,000 people to western Utah territory, now Nevada, accelerating this contact.

The winter of 1859-60 was so severe that the new white settlers reduced more and more piñon trees to firewood, unwittingly destroying the source of piñon nuts, a staple in the Paiute and Washo diet.

As a result of these difficulties the Paiute and nearby related Bannock peoples met at Pyramid Lake to discuss their mutual problems with the white people. An incident triggered a battle and the Indians defeated a volunteer militia of miners. News of this conflict brought the regular army.

Then another incident disrupted the meeting. Two girls had disappeared. A search party of nine Paiute men went out to look for them, and before they found the girls, they met four white men and killed three of them in a fight. These deaths triggered the Pyramid Lake War. A standoff, it eventually ended with the Paiutes returning to their land, requesting, and receiving a new Indian agent and more food supplies from the army.

Some of the white settlers who had moved onto the Paiute land held the Indians responsible for their own difficult living conditions in the valley. By 1864, when Lincoln proclaimed Nevada a state, many of the whites envied the Indians the green grass and river water of the Walker River Reservation.

Whites trespassed on the reservation again when a rich mining strike, called Dutchman Creek, was made on the west side of the lake.

A severe winter in 1866 caused the piñon crop to fail entirely. Three years later, government agent Franklin Campbell reported between seventy-five and one hundred deaths in three months, and much sickness. The agents encouraged the Paiutes — a hunting and gathering group — to farm, but did not have metal tools to give them. Lack of tools and heavy rains that year, which washed out the irrigation ditches the Indians had dug, made learning an unfamiliar livelihood difficult.

Unsuccessful at farming, tired of war, and hungry from the lack of piñon nuts, the Paiutes were ripe for the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, both of which began among them. Their land, their gods, their social order, and their means of subsistence were all severely threatened. Government agents, miners, military men, trappers, missionaries, farmers, and ranchers were undercutting and eroding their culture. Considering their present, their future, and, most of all, their past, their response to the unendurable pressure was in many cases an attempt to recreate the old way of life, the time before the white man came, their utopian past.

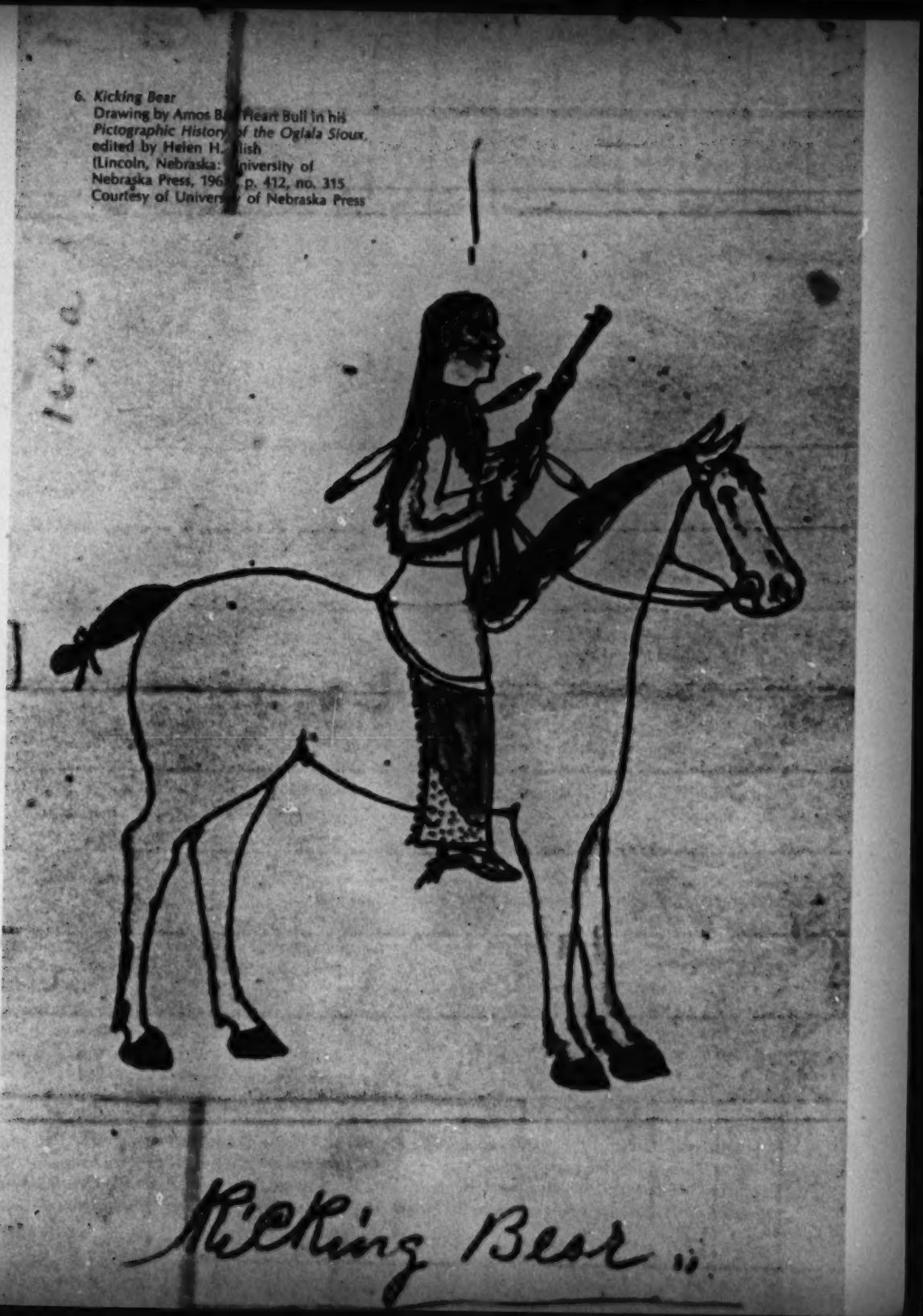
EFFECTS OF THE RELIGION

The 1890 Ghost Dance cannot be seen as a movement with an arbitrary beginning and end; some of its effects remain visible today. Most easily noted are the survivals, sometimes fragmented, among plains tribes.

But at the high point of the movement in the 1890s, many tribes experienced changes, some superficial and some deep, due to the requirements of the religion. In many tribes women danced alongside men for the first time. Women also originated Ghost Dance ceremonies among the Pawnee. And the Arapaho, who had had the custom of shooting their horses and gashing themselves when they mourned a death, gave up these practices as Wovoka had suggested, since they would soon rejoin the dead.

Among the northern Pai and probably among other groups, white missionaries coming in after the Ghost Dance had died down had a relatively easy time converting Indians to Christianity, partly because the Indians had ceased to practice their old religion.

One group came out of the 1890s with a



6. *Kicking Bear*
Drawing by Amos Bad Heart Bull in his *Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*, edited by Helen H. Blish (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 196[illegible] p. 412, no. 315
Courtesy of University of Nebraska Press

genuine spiritual and intellectual renaissance because of the Ghost Dance. The Pawnee, their lives upset both by a drastic change in their economy and material life and by direct government attacks on specific customs, reacted to the Ghost Dance in a creative and innovative way. Because their culture had been so profoundly altered, their chiefs left so powerless, their families so changed, and their reasons for living so erased, the Pawnee were losing their old methods of education. According to their customs, before his death an old medicine man had to pass on his knowledge in person to a follower, or otherwise all of his complex rituals would be lost forever, even if people remembered seeing the rituals performed. Since fewer and fewer young men considered being a medicine man a worthwhile occupation, tribal rituals, games, and songs were slipping away. New social occasions and ways of passing on knowledge did not come along to take their place.

The Ghost Dance changed that situation. Here was a new way of reviving old customs. Now, in a trance, a dancer could see his ancestors performing ceremonies or playing games and then, upon leaving the trance state, could remember and copy what he saw, possibly filling in forgotton parts himself. In this way the Pawnee began to perform lost ceremonies, songs, and games, all connected with the Ghost Dance. As they continued to practice the dance, they gained back more and more pieces of their lost culture. This is not to say that the Pawnee completely solved their problems, but once the frenzy of the Ghost Dance had calmed down, the rituals settled into a rejuvenated way of life.[29]

The Sioux were not so lucky as the Pawnee. In the late summer of 1890, after their delegation returned from a visit to Wovoka, the tribe began dancing the Ghost Dance with an innovation of their own.

Kicking Bear, [figure 6], the most militant of the Lakotah delegates, gave the Ghost Dance faith of the Sioux the one warlike touch — the bullet-proof ghost shirt — that set it apart from the faith as it was adopted by all the other tribes. It happened at a council after the committee had told its story, when Kicking Bear repeated the things that he had learned at the Ghost Dances of the Blue Clouds (Arapaho). Again he told how the dancers would fall down dead for a little time during which they went to heaven to visit Wanagi (the ghost of those who had died before). He said, "When the dancers come back from visiting the ghosts, they brought . . . water, fire and the wind with which to kill all the whites or Indians who help the chief of the whites."

Then he said, "All the men and women made holy shirts and dresses to wear in the dance. They paint the white muslin of the holy shirts and dresses with blue across the back, and alongside of this is a line of yellow paint . . . a picture of an eagle is made on the back of all the shirts and dresses. On the shoulders and sleeves they tie eagle feathers. They said that bullets will not go through these shirts and dresses, so they have all these dresses for war."

Actually, the Ghost Dance faith of the Blue Clouds did not include bullet-proof shirts, nor did the faith of any of the other tribes; but because Kicking Bear — a strong warrior who had fought in the battles of the Rosebud and Little Big Horn and Slim Buttes — had told it otherwise, the Sioux adopted the shirt . . . with tragic results.[30]

As the Ghost Dance movement grew among the Sioux at Pine Ridge (*figure 7*), an inexperienced agent became alarmed. Unable to cope alone, Agent Royer called for troops. From the moment on November 15, 1890, when his telegram was sent to Washington, asking for help because "we need protection and we need it now . . . nothing short of 1,000 troops will stop this dancing,"[31] journalists descended on South Dakota. While reporters for Eastern papers filed dispatches full of war scares, those for South Dakota and Nebraska journals spoke of Pine Ridge as quiet and serene. Readers of *Harper's Weekly* (November 29, 1890) learned that the bloodiest Indian war ever to be fought was expected to take place during the coming winter, while the *Rapid City Journal* (November 27, 1890) reported that no

7. Drying Meat, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 1891
Photograph by S. D. Butcher, 1891
Courtesy of Chandler-Pohrt Collection,
Great Lakes Indian Museum,
Cross Village, Michigan

trouble was expected.

Yellow journalism, white inexperience, Sioux militancy, and fear on both sides combined to blow the situation out of proportion. Publicity-conscious Buffalo Bill Cody even arrived at Fort Yates, North Dakota, to assist. Dressed in his Wild West Show costume and patent leather shoes, Buffalo Bill planned to help the situation by arresting Sitting Bull, the most important of the Sioux leaders, who, despite federal opposition, encouraged Ghost Dances to a degree that alarmed officials. To capture the Hunkpapa medicine man, who was known to enjoy candy, Buffalo Bill planned to travel with a wagon load of sweets. At Fort Yates, Agent McLaughlin, who had successfully dealt with Indian problems in the past and felt that Cody would make a farce of the arrest, managed to have Cody's orders rescinded by none other than President

8. *Short Bull*
Photographer unknown
Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 3151

Benjamin Harrison.[32] Sitting Bull's capture by Cody's candy was thus prevented, but his arrest was finally attempted by Indian police, and during the event he was killed.

Events continued to escalate and more troops were sent to Pine Ridge — totalling almost half of the United States infantry and cavalry[33] — and the Sioux armed themselves in response. An attempt to disarm them peacefully resulted in confusion, and a shot was fired. The army (the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's old division) opened fire, and within a few minutes 150 to 300 Indian men, women, and children were dead.

Short Bull *(figure 8)* one of the Sioux delegates to Wovoka, later asked: "Who would have thought that dancing could make such trouble? For the message that I brought was peace. And the message was given by the Father to all the tribes."[34]

Ellen Bradbury Eileen Flory Moira Harris

1. James Mooney, "The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology, part 2, 1892-1893 (Washington, D.C., 1921), pp. 1006-1007.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 768-769.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 781.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 775.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 823-824.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 923-924.
7. Alexander Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study of Cultural Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), pp. 60-61.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
9. Edward C. Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Printing Service, 1975), p. 48.
10. Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 311.
11. "Wovoka," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 11, no. 2 (1968), 49, 51.
12. Lesser, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-58.
13. W. W. Hill, "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890," *American Anthropologist,* 46 (1944), 525.
14. Lesser, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
15. William Duncan Strong, *The Occurrence and Wider Implications of a "Ghost Cult" on the Columbia River Suggested by Carvings in Wood, Bone, and Stone,* American Anthropological Association, General Series in Anthropology, no. 1 (1935), pp. 255-257.
16. Bernard Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," *American Sociological Review,* 6, no. 5 (1941), 663.
17. Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Nez Perce and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance,* Publications in Anthropology, University of Washington, vol. 2, no. 2 (1927-1929).
18. Merrill D. Beal, *I Will Fight No More Forever: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 22.
19. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
20. Father Vine Deloria, personal communication with authors.
21. T. C. McLuhan, ed., *Touch the Earth* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972), p. 77.
22. Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 825.
23. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
24. Henry F. Dobyns and Robert C. Euler, *The Ghost Dance of 1889 among the Pai Indians of Northwestern Arizona* (Prescott, Arizona: Prescott College Press, 1967), pp. 36-47.
25. David Aberle, "The Prophet Dance and the Reactions to White Contact," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 15, no. 1 (1959), 76-79.
26. Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-257.
27. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-41.
28. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life among the Paiutes,* ed. Mrs. Horace Mann Cupples (Boston, 1883), as quoted in Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
29. Lesser, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-118.
30. Rex Allen Smith, *The Moon of Popping Trees* (New York: Readers Digest Press, 1975), p. 75.
31. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
32. Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1932), p. 287.
33. Natalie Curtis Burlin, *The Indians' Book* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1935), p. 45.
34. Robert M. Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 251.

Dress
Kiowa
skin, painted, feathers attached
60" x 42"
Museum of International Folk Art,
Museum of New Mexico, 2343

CLOTHING

The Ghost Dance costume, although varying from tribe to tribe, usually consisted of face paint, leggings for the men, and, of most importance for this exhibition, although not compulsory for participation in the Ghost Dance rituals, a Ghost Dance shirt or, for the women, a Ghost Dance dress.

The most popular color for the face paint was a red mixed from ochre paint which Wovoka gave to pilgrims who visited him in the Mason Valley. These cakes of paint from Nevada were so highly prized that the Sioux would sometimes mix a few grains of the sacred paint with a locally obtained red, so that a dancer wearing the local paint would have extra spiritual help in obtaining a vision. With the paint, they adorned their foreheads, cheeks, and chins with circles, crescents, and crosses, representing the sun, moon, and morning star.

Sioux Ghost Dance shirts and dresses were usually made of muslin or Indian Head cotton, although flour sacks were also used for some of the dresses (note the dress from the Lessard collection made of a Rosebud Agency flour sack). Several ledger book drawings done by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1869-1913), an Oglala Sioux tribal historian, show Ghost Dance subjects.[1] No. 312 in his ledger book shows three Ghost dancers in back and front views. One dancer's shirt hangs squarely so that the eagle on his back can be clearly seen. Butterflies, dragonflies, and four-pointed stars decorate the sides. A second dancer wears a plainer, v-yoked shirt painted with moon and stars. All three of the dancers wear painted leggings. Eagle feathers hang from their shoulders and adorn their hair.

Ghost Dance garments made of elk, deer, or antelope skins were mainly produced by Plains tribes other than the Sioux. One, two, or three animal skins were needed to complete a shirt or dress.

Most Ghost Dance articles were decorated with paint, probably dry tempera, beads, tin cones, bone fragments, porcupine quillwork, feathers from owls or magpies, and, if they could be obtained, feathers from eagles. Beads and metal, although both introduced by white men and therefore forbidden on Ghost Dance clothing, can be noted on many garments in the exhibition.

By 1890 traditional symbols had become mixed with imported signs from the white world, which, although they did not lessen the power of the design, did make interpretation more complex. The selection of specific combinations of traditional Indian motifs and symbols from white culture and the placement of these designs on the garments were frequently the outgrowth of individual visions, giving the garment special significance to its creator and wearer, but further complicating later interpretation.

During the Ghost Dance ceremony, many of the visions experienced by the dancers concerned the reunion of the dancer with dead friends and relatives. Frequently the Ghost Dance believer noted the great beauty of the clothing worn by his dead friends and relatives or received instructions for designing Ghost Dance shirts.

Black Elk, an important Sioux leader, was at first skeptical of the message brought back to South Dakota by Good Thunder and Kicking Bear. Later he came to believe that Wovoka's vision might somehow be connected with his own childhood vision concerning the destiny of his people, "And so, the next day I made ghost shirts all day long and painted them in the sacred manner of my vision." He painted a spotted eagle outstretched on the back of his shirts. The daybreak star he positioned on the left shoulder with a flaming rainbow leading from it to the right hip. A second rainbow was placed around the neckline, with a pendant star at the center. Eagle feathers were placed at shoulder, elbow, and wrist, and the entire shirt carried the jagged red streaks of lightning sent by the thunder-beings of his vision.[2]

The wife of Return-from-Scout was another creator of Ghost Dance costumes. She "had seen in a vision that the spirits of her friends all wore a similar robe, and on reviving from her trance she called the women together, and they made a great number of the sacred garments. They were of white cotton cloth; the women's dresses cut like ordinary gowns, a loose robe with wide, flowing sleeves, painted blue around the neck in the shape of a three-cornered

handkerchief, with moon, stars, birds, etc., interspersed with real feathers painted on the waist and sleeves."[3]

Little Wound, a member of a band of Sioux believing in the bulletproof qualities of the Ghost Dance shirt, has said of one of his visions:

When I fell in the trance a great and grand eagle came and carried me over a great hill, where there was a village such as we used to have before the whites came into the country. The tepees were all of buffalo hides, and we made use of the bow and arrow, there being nothing of white man's manufacture in the beautiful land. Nor were any whites permitted to live there. The broad and fertile lands stretched in every direction, and were most pleasing to my eyes.

I was taken into the presence of the great Messiah, and he spoke to me in these words:

"My child, I am glad to see you. Do you want to see your children and relations who are dead?"

I replied: "Yes, I would like to see my relations who have been dead a long time." The God then called my friends to come up to where I was. They appeared, riding the finest horses I ever saw, dressed in supurb and most brilliant garments, and seeming very happy. As they approached, I recognized the playmates of my childhood, and I ran forward to embrace them while the tears of joy ran down my cheeks.

We all went together to another village, where there were very large lodges of buffalo hide, and there held a long talk with the great Wakantanka. Then he had some squaws prepare us a meal of many herbs, meats, and wild fruits and "wasna" (pounded beef and choke-cheeries). After we had eaten, the Great Spirit prayed for our people upon the earth, and then we all took a smoke out of a fine pipe ornamented with the most beautiful feathers and porcupine quills. Then we left the city and looked into a great valley where there were thousands of buffalo, deer, and elk feeding.

After seeing the valley, we returned to the city, the Great Spirit speaking meanwhile. He told me that the earth was now bad and worn out; that we needed a new dwelling place where rascally whites could not distrub us. He further instructed me to return to my people, the Sioux, and say to them that if they would be constant in the dance and pay no attention to the whites he would shortly come to their aid. If the high priests would make for the dancers medicine shirts and pray over them, no harm could come to the wearer; that the bullets of any whites that desired to stop the Messiah Dance would fall to the ground without doing any one harm, and the person firing such shots would drop dead. He said that he prepared a hole in the ground filled with hot water and fire for the reception of all white men and non-believers. With these parting words I was commanded to return to earth.[4]

In this exhibition, the dress lent by the Field Museum of Natural History is certainly an excellent example of an individual vision. The hands show lines of power, dotted lines descending from the pipe placed on the yoke. Above the upper pair of hands are two small birds — one possibly an eagle.

Stars are the most frequently used motif on Ghost Dance ritual objects, and it is from them and their spirit of hope that this exhibition, *I Wear the Morning Star*, takes its name and intention. The five-pointed "American flag" star; the traditional four-pointed star; dashes of paint representing falling stars, or the many stars of the heavens; and the Maltese cross-shaped star, representing the four directions to the Sioux and the morning star to the Arapaho, all appear.[5]

The turtle, which in the Arapaho origin myth helped raise the earth from under the waters and then continued to support the earth, causing earthquakes when he shifted position, appears on the Ghost Dance objects as a symbol of the spirit world. In this exhibition, the turtle can be seen in the beading of the Arapaho tobacco bag from the Chandler-Pohrt collection.

Arapaho believers also frequently painted a tree, like the cedar around which the dancers circled, on their garments. Usually a woman is shown holding a tree or a branch of green, and she perhaps represents the maiden who stood

9. *Shirt*
Plains
muslin, painted and fringed; horsehair
tassels attached; red flannel neck facing
38" x 62"
Crane Collection
Denver Museum of Natural History, 11,343

near the sacred pole or tree in the center of the Ghost Dance circle.

The Sioux used eagle feathers on their shirts and dresses more than feathers from any other bird. The eagle, bald or golden, is a powerful symbol, and during a recent Sioux Dance on Rosebud Reservation (June, 1973), participants felt especially blessed when several eagles passed overhead.

Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho, magpies, with their black-and-white tails, and black, blunt-tailed crows were depicted as messengers from the spirit world.

Butterflies, dragonflies, rainbows, and other air-borne signs also appear on Ghost Dance garments. Like the birds, they symbolized the belief that Ghost Dancers would be flown out of danger when the earth was renewed.

The records of Black Elk's day-long shirt-making, Return-from-Scout's calling in her friends to make "a great number of sacred garments," and the Sioux's use of the special Ghost Dance tailor, Holy Medicine Man, of Sitting Bull's Hunkpapa band, all suggest that multiple production of Ghost Dance garments was common.[6]

A number of Ghost Dance shirts turned into the Saint Francis Mission in 1892 (now in the Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum in South Dakota) display a certain uniformity of style. Similarly the shirts said to have been collected at Wounded Knee show stylistic consistencies, although shirts said to have been collected at Wounded Knee have proliferated until their numbers approach those of the relics of the true cross. The actual Wounded Knee Ghost Dance shirts which were worn by the slaughtered Big Foot and his band usually have red paint which has now turned brown around the neck.

Many replicas of authentic Ghost Dance garments exist. Generally suspect are shirts with long horsehair ties; crudely-attached rolled fringe; bold and large-scale painted designs, lacking the sincerity and naivete of Ghost Dance garments with authentic pedigrees; seams sewn on the outside with large stitches; and necklines reinforced with colored flannel (figure 9). These shirts may have been produced as early as 1906, when a reenactment of the Battle of Wounded Knee was staged for photographers in Chadron, Nebraska. Shirts created for the reenactment were collected as souvenirs and soon acquired a certain notoriety and value.

For those garments made during the height of the religion's influence the power remains strong, the beauty is evident, and their importance as symbols of a major American Indian religious movement is paramount.

For many scholars the poetry and the music of the Ghost Dance songs are equally beautiful. It has been a temptation to include many more songs, but as James Mooney, to whom we are indebted for his foresight in recording the Ghost Dance songs, early stated, "for every trance at every dance" a new song might be created.[7]

Ellen Bradbury

1. Amos Bad Heart Bull, *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*, ed. Helen H. Blish (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), no. 312, p. 409; no. 315 (Kicking Bear), p. 412.
2. John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1932), p. 247.
3. Mrs. Z. A. Parker, "Ghost Dance at Pine Ridge," *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1891), 160-162.
4. Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 90-91.
5. Robert Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (Garden City: Natural History Press, 1954), p. 159.
6. Rex Allen Smith, *Moon of Popping Trees* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1975), p. 160.
7. James Mooney, "The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, part 2, 1892-1893 (Washington, D.C., 1921), p. 953.

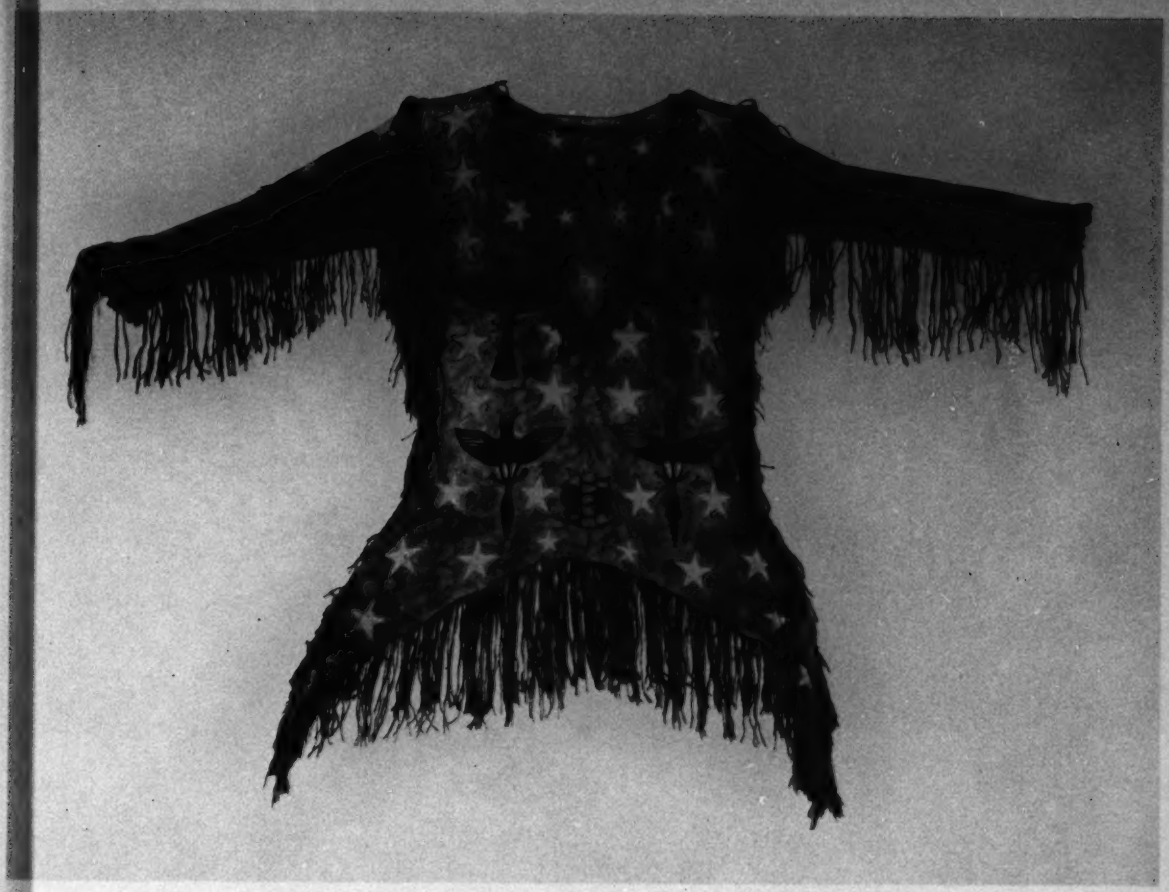
ARAPAHO

Ninää/niahu/na,
Ninää/niahu/na
Bi/taa/wu hä/näi/säi,
Bi/taa/wu hä/näi/säi,
Hi/nää/thi nä/niwu/hunä,
Hi/näa/thi nà/niwu/hunä.

I circle around-
I circle around
The boundaries of the earth-
The boundaries of the earth
Wearing the long wing feathers as I fly,
Wearing the long wing feathers as I fly.
(Mooney, p. 970)

TOBACCO BAG
Arapaho
leather with beading and feathers
29" x 7"
Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Great Lakes Indian Museum, Cross Village, Michigan

LEGGINGS
Arapaho
buckskin
36"
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 2/1133
Photo: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

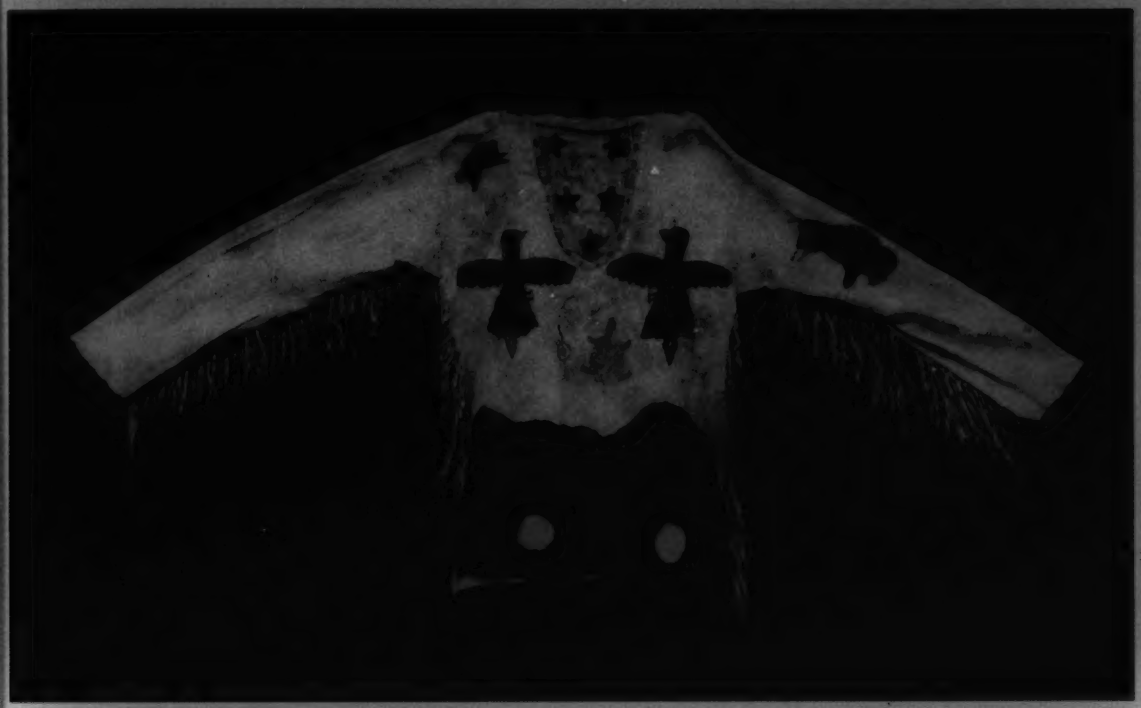


SHIRT
Arapaho
buckskin, painted and fringed
46" x 53"
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 2/1133
Photo: Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation

SHIRT
Arapaho
skin, painted, fringed, feathers attached
35"
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 2/7270
Photo: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

SHIRT
Arapaho
buckskin, painted, fringed and beaded
29″ x 64″
Paul Dyck Research Foundation, Rimrock,
Arizona, 10750

DRESS
Arapaho
buckskin, painted and fringed
56″
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 2/8374
Photo: Museum of the American Indian;
Heye Foundation



SHIRT
Arapaho
buckskin, painted, fringed, beaded
27½" x 70"
Paul Dyck Research Foundation, Rimrock, Arizona, 10786

MOCCASINS
Arapaho
deerskin, painted
10"
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 20/3189
Photo: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

front

DRESS
Arapaho
skin, painted, beaded and fringed with
tin cones and horn fragments
62½" x 47"
Field Museum of Natural History, 70726

back

DRESS
Arapaho
skin, painted, feathers attached
58" x 34½"
Albert Green Heath Collection,
Logan Museum of Anthropology,
Beloit, Wisconsin, 30449
Photo: Logan Museum of Anthropology

BOY'S HAIR HEADDRESS
Arapaho
cowhair, brass clock-gear
American Museum of Natural History, 50/314

SHIRT
Arapaho
buckskin, cloth, paint
35" x 51"
Kansas City Museum of History and Science, 69.1483
Photo: Kansas City Museum of History and Science

APRON
Arapaho
skin with quillwork; feathers, dewclaws
and horsehair attached
8" x 29½"
University Museum, Philadelphia, NA 3501

SHIRT
Arapaho
skin, painted and stained
27" x 56"
Crane Collection,
Denver Museum of Natural History, 11, 175

front

back

SHIRT
Arapaho
buckskin, fringed and painted,
feathers and discs attached
33″ x 68″
American Museum of Natural History, $\frac{50}{37}$

KIOWA

Da/ta i so/da/te,
Da/ta i so/da/te,
Do/m ezä̈/nteda/te,
Do/m ezä̈/nteda/te.
De/imhä̈/date,
De/imhä̈/date.
Be/a/ma/nhäyi,
Be/a/ma/nhäyi.

The father will descend,
The father will descend.
The earth will tremble,
The earth will tremble.
Everybody will arise,
Everybody will arise.
Stretch out your hands,
Stretch out your hands.
(Mooney, pp. 1081-2)

DRESS
Kiowa
skin, painted
60" x 42"
Museum of International Folk Art,
Museum of New Mexico, 2343
Photo: Arthur Taylor

DRESS
Kiowa
skin, painted and fringed, thongs attached
56″ x 45″
Denver Art Museum, Lki-8

DRESS
Kiowa
skin, fringed, cowrie shells attached
American Museum of Natural History, 50.2/4522

SHIRT
Kiowa
buckskin, painted fringe
26½" x 60"
Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History
and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 8427.1824

DRESS
Kiowa
buckskin, painted
37½" x 29"
The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 8427.1810

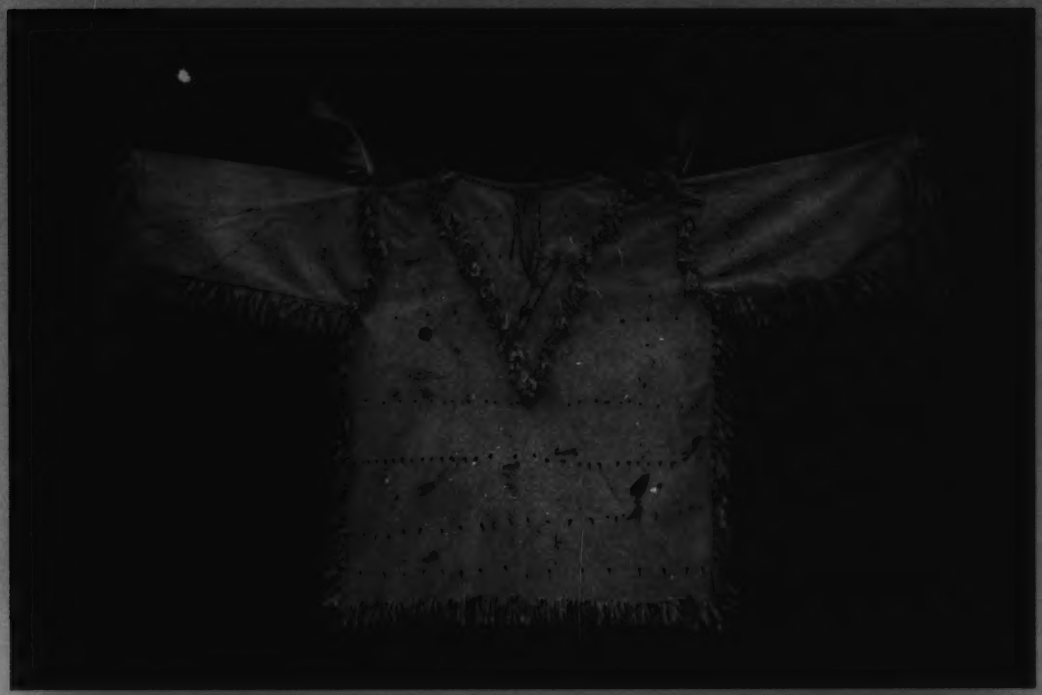
SIOUX

Maka/ sito/maniyañ ukiye,
Oya/te uki/ye, oya/te uki/ye,
Wa/ñbali oya/te wan hoshi/hi-ye lo,
Ate heye lo, ate heye lo,
Maka o/wañcha/ya uki/ye.
Pte kiñ ukiye, pte kiñ ukiye,
Kanghi oya/te wan hoshi/hi-ye lo,
A/te he/ye lo, a/te he/ye lo.

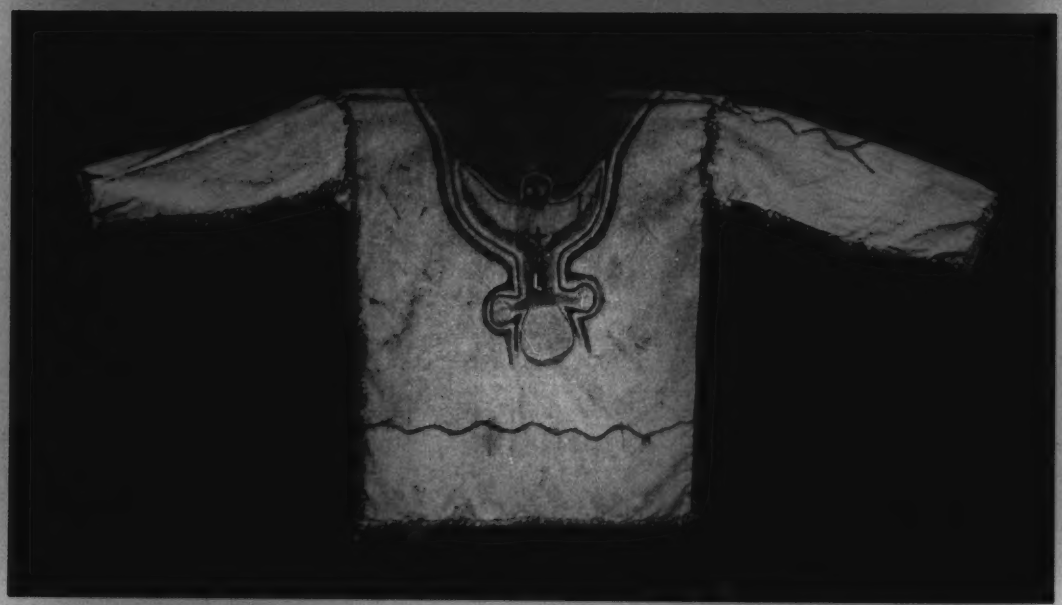
The whole world is coming,
A nation is coming, a nation is coming,
The Eagle has brought the message to the tribe.
The father says so, the father says so.
Over the whole earth they are coming.
The buffalo are coming, the buffalo are coming,
The Crow has brought the message to the tribe,
The father says so, the father says so.
(Mooney, p. 1072)

DRESS
Sioux, worn by Good Weasel, blessed by Short Bull
muslin, painted, feathers attached
American Museum of Natural History, 50/6386

SHIRT *(opposite page)*
Sioux
muslin, painted, feathers and eagle bone attached
29" x 55"
Red Cloud Indian School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota



front

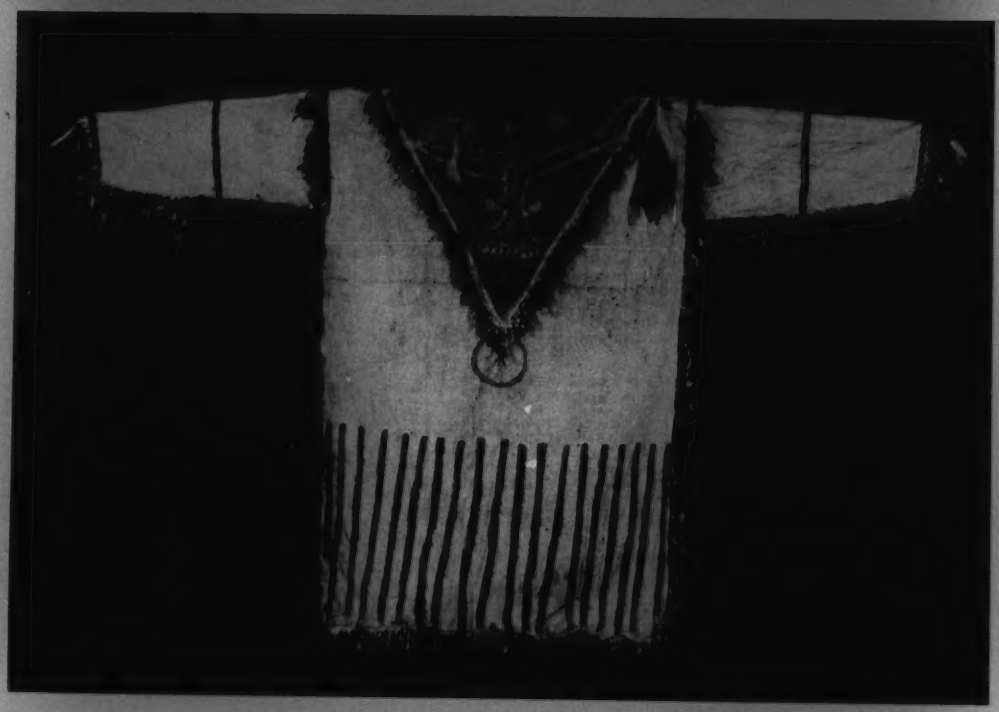


back

SHIRT
Sioux, collected at Wounded Knee
muslin, painted and fringed
29" x 24"
Milwaukee Public Museum

DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted, feathers attached
53" x 50¾"
Dacotah Prairie Museum, Aberdeen, South Dakota

front



back

MOCCASINS
Sioux
cowhide
10 3/4"
Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Great Lakes Indian Museum,
Cross Village, Michigan

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
40" x 60"
Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany, 56090
Photo: Linden Museum

front

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
52″ x 56″
Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany, 56091
Photo: Linden Museum

back

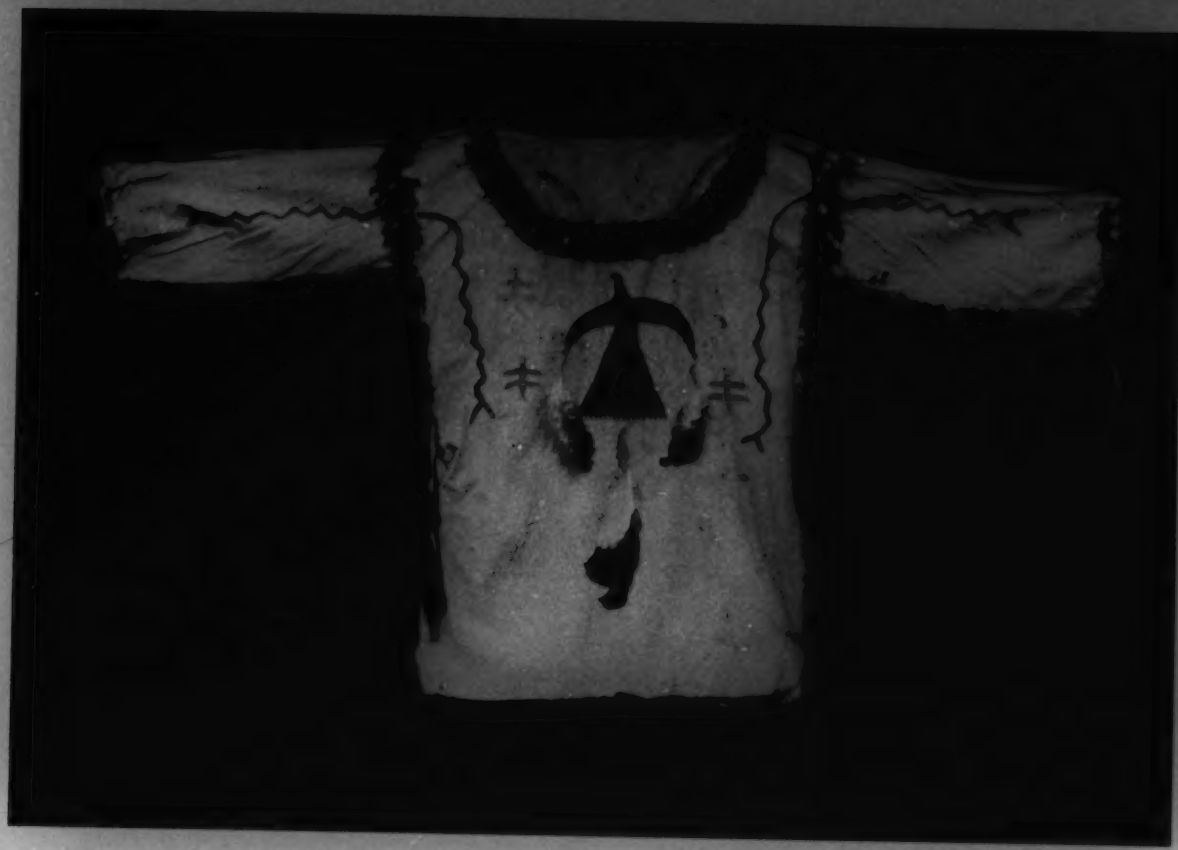
front

DRESS
Sioux
muslin (flour sacking), painted and fringed
43¾" x 44"
Lessard Collection, Mission, South Dakota

back

inside-out

MODEL OF PAINTED TIPI
Sioux
muslin, painted
American Museum of Natural History, 50.1/488



SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted, feathers attached
American Museum of Natural History, 50.1/1187

front

back

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted
52" x 47"
University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-48-110

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted, dyed fringe, feathers attached
35" x 60"
Denver Art Musuem, PS 12

SHIRT
Sioux, worn by Shell Woman, blessed by Short Bull
muslin, painted, feathers attached
American Museum of Natural History, 50/6384

DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
American Museum of Natural History, 50.2/5596

front

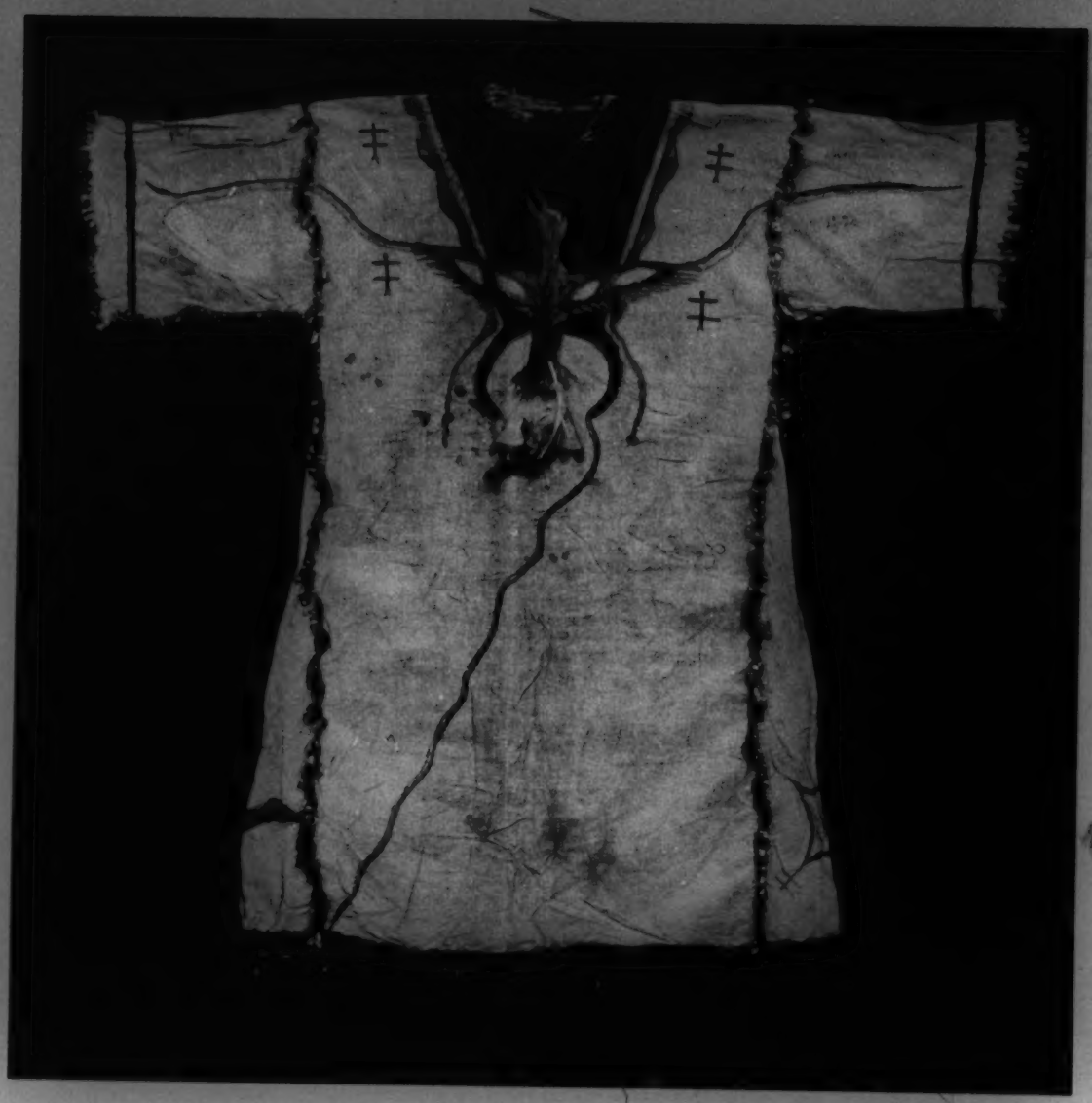
DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
Wissler Collection, American Museum of Natural History, 50/3055

back

front

DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
American Museum of Natural History, 50/3054

back



front

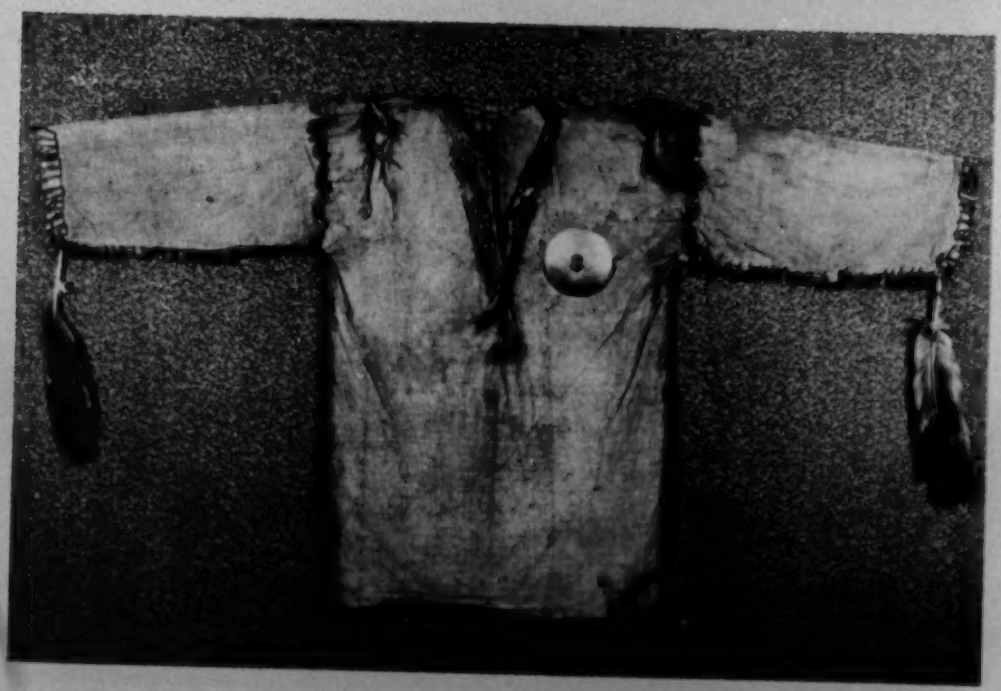
DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted, dyed fringe
48″ x 52″
Denver Art Museum, PS 53

back

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed
American Museum of Natural History, 50.2/5595

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, fringed, feathers attached
69" x 36"
W. H. Over Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota, E357

SHIRT
Sioux, worn by White Face, blessed by Short Bull
muslin, painted, feathers attached
American Museum of Natural History, 50/6385



SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, fringed, feathers attached
35 1/4" x 67 3/4"
Albert Green Heath Collection, Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit, Wisconsin, 30676

DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted, feathers attached
55" x 53"
West Point Museum, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York

SHIRT
Sioux, collected at Wounded Knee
muslin, fringed, feathers and discs attached
32 3/4" x 61"
Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota
Photo: David Hartley

front

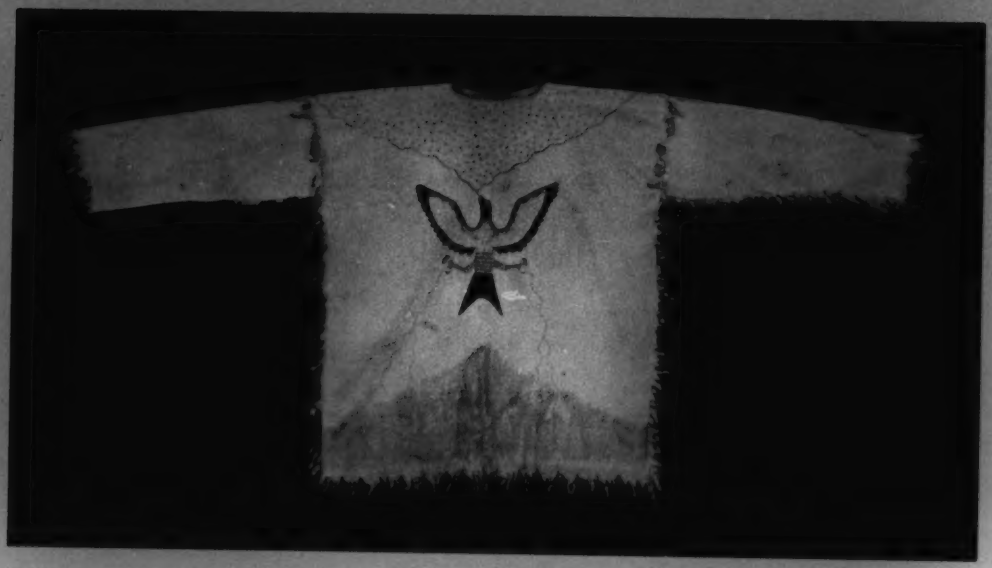
SHIRT
Sioux, perhaps worn by Big Foot
muslin, painted
37" x 65½"
Pettigrew Museum, Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Photo: Bruce Schumacher

back

DRESS
Sioux
muslin, painted
52" x 58"
University Museum, Philadelphia, NA 5398

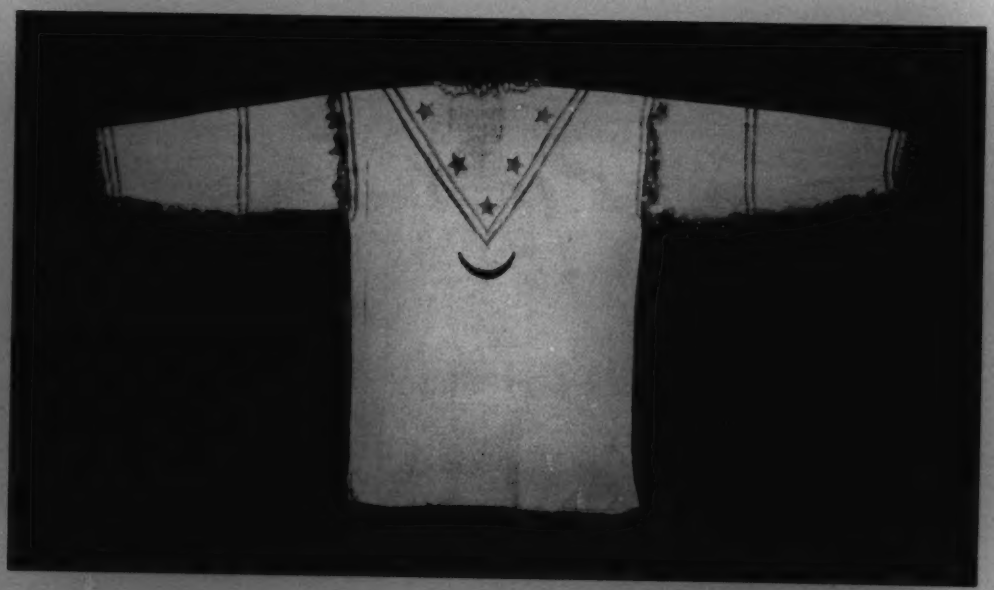
SHIRT
Sioux
cloth, fringed, fur trim
36½" x 64"
Crane Collection,
Denver Museum of Natural History, 5731
back

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted and fringed,
feathers attached
33" x 64"
Sioux City Public Museum, X324



SHIRT
Sioux, worn by Little Wound
muslin, painted
52" x 58"
University Museum, Philadelphia, 45-15-283

SHIRT
Sioux
muslin, painted, dyed fringe
27" x 54"
Denver Art Museum, PS 15



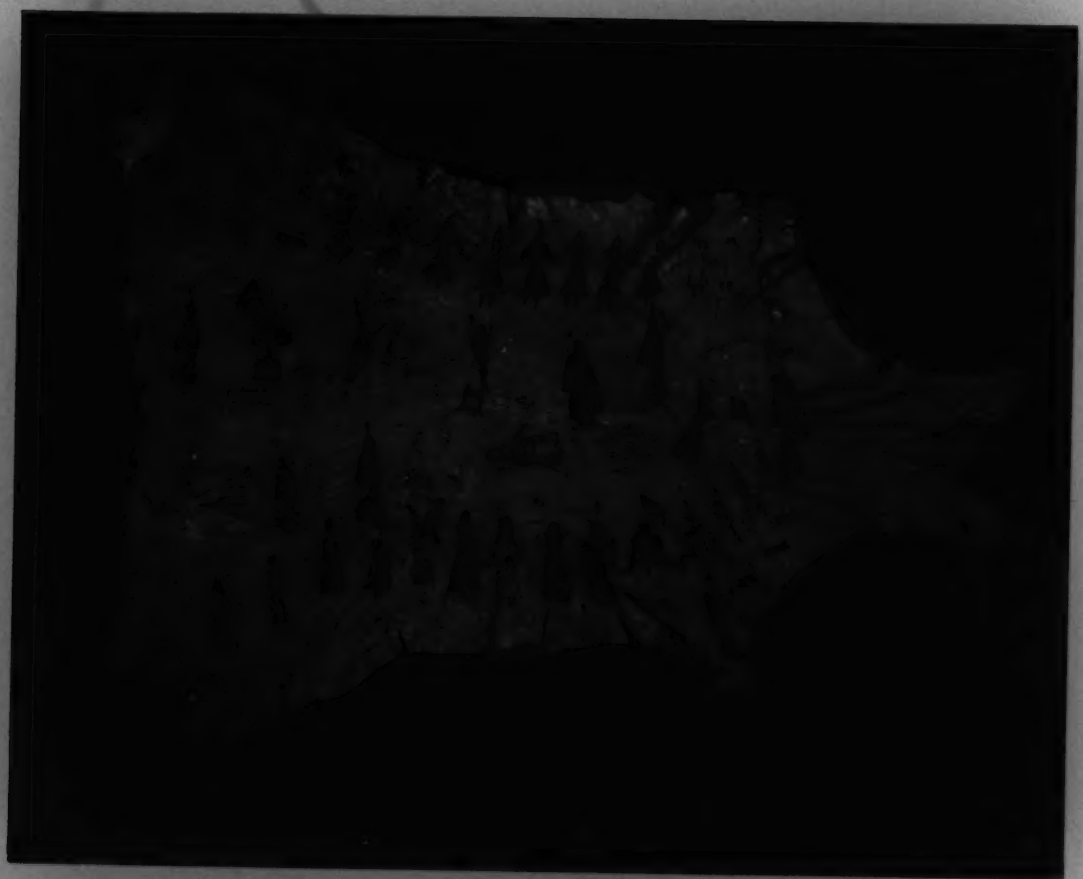
DRESS
Sioux, collected at Wounded Knee
muslin
35½" x 46½"
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
Harvard University, 75036

CHEYENNE

Ehą̃/n esho/ini/,
Ehą̃/n esho/ini/,
Hoi/v esho/ini/,
Hoi/v esho/ini/,
I/yohą̃/-Eye/ye/ !
I/yohą̃/-Eye/ye/ !
I/nisto/niwo/ni- Ahe/e/ye !
I/nisto-niwo/ni-Ahe/e/ye !

Our father has come,
Our father has come,
The earth has come,
The earth has come,
It is rising — Eye/ye !
It is rising — Eye/ye !
It is humming — Ahe/e/ye !
It is humming — Ahe/e/ye !
(Mooney, p. 1028)

BUCKSKIN PAINTING
Cheyenne, painted by Yellow Nose,
a Southern Ute
buckskin, painted with colored inks
50⅞" x 40"
National Museum of Natural History,
Smithsonian Institution,
165,127



DRESS
Cheyenne
leather, painted and fringed
57" x 48"
Paul Dyck Research Foundation, Rimrock, Arizona, 10790

PLAINS

Le/na wa/kañ waka/gha-che,
A/te he/ye lo, a/te he/ye lo,
O/găle kiñhañ wakañ waka/gha-che
A/te he/ye lo, a/te he/ye lo,
Chăñoñ/pa kiñ waka/gha che,
A/te he/ye lo, a/te he/ye lo.

It is I who made these sacred things,
Says the father, says the father.
It is I who make the sacred shirt,
Says the father, says the father.
It is I who made the pipe,
Says the father, says the father.
(Mooney, p. 1072)

SHIRT
Plains
buckskin, painted
35½"
Kansas City Museum of History and Science,
Kansas City, Missouri, 39.726
Photo: Kansas City Museum of History and Science

front

back

SHIRT
Plains
muslin, painted, feathers attached
52" x 56"
Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany
Photo: Linden Museum

SHIRT
Northern Plains
cloth, painted and fringed
32" x 62"
Crane Collection,
Denver Museum of Natural History, 5730
back

TWO GHOST DANCE RATTLES
Pawnee, used in last Pawnee Ghost Dance, 1971
gourds, skin coverings, wooden handles
15½" (each)
Collection of James Howard, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Our most sincere thanks are extended to James E. Gillihan, Director of the Office of Cultural Preservation of the State of South Dakota; John Ryman, Exhibits Designer, without whose support and creative energy this exhibition would never have materialized and Richard Pohrt of Flint, Michigan. David Baxter, Richard Erdoes, Ed Wapp and James Felici have offered many valuable suggestions. Leonard Crow Dog, Wallace Good Elk, Louis Bad Wound, Virgil Kills Straight, Frank Fools Crow, Charles Kills Enemy, Orvil Looking Horse, all Sioux medicine men; Freddie Washington, a Delaware elder; Nickerson West Shakespeare and Ben Friday, Sr., tribal historians for the Northern Arapaho; Father Peter Powell, a scholar noted for his work with the Cheyenne; Father Vine Deloria, Pierre, South Dakota; Richard Conn, Denver Art Museum; Dr. Phillip Gifford, American Museum of Natural History; Susan Bertram, Museums Collaborative, New York; John Garrigan, New York and Red Lake, Minnesota; Jack Rushing, First National City Bank, New York; Lori Shepherd, New York; Dennis Sun Roads, Hodne Stageberg Architects, Minneapolis; Michael Kan, Detroit Institute of Art; Gerald Vizenor, Minnesota poet and journalist; James O'Donnell, Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota; Michael Hittman, Long Island University, and Nancy Akre of our editorial staff have all given important information and support to the catalogue. Finally, we would like to extend our most sincere appreciation to the National Endowment for the Arts, the Columbia Broadcasting Company, Americans for Indian Opportunities, and the Affiliated State Arts Council of the Upper Midwest for providing financial assistance for this catalogue and exhibition.

Ellen Bradbury
Curator of Primitive Art

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

American Museum of Natural History, New York
Dacotah Prairie Museum, Aberdeen, South Dakota
Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Great Lakes Indian Museum, Cross Village, Michigan
Denver Art Museum
Denver Museum of Natural History
Paul Dyck Research Foundation, Rimrock, Arizona
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
James Gillihan, Pierre, South Dakota
Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
James Howard, Stillwater, Oklahoma
Kansas City Museum of History and Science
F. Dennis Lessard, Mission, South Dakota
Library of Congress
Lowie Museum, University of California, Berkeley
Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College
Milwaukee Public Museum
Nebraska Historical Society
Nevada Historical Society
Pettigrew Museum, Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Richard Pohrt, Flint, Michigan
Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota
W. H. Over Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
Sioux City Public Museum, Sioux City, Iowa
University Museum, Philadelphia
West Point Museum

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Alexander, Hartley B. *The World's Rim*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1933.

Bad Heart Bull, Amos. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. Text by Helen H. Blish. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Bailey, Paul D. *Wovoka: The Indian Messiah*. Los Angeles: Westernlore, 1957.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1970.

Brown, Mark H. and Felton, W. R. *The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1955.

Chapman, Arthur I. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1891*. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892.

Dobyns, Henry F. and Euler, Robert C. *The Ghost Dance of 1889 among the Pai Indians of Northwestern Arizona*. Prescott, Arizona: Prescott College Press, 1967.

Hamilton, Henry and Hamilton, Jean Tyree. *The Sioux of Rosebud*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Herskovits, Melville J. *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact*. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938.

Hyde, George. *A Sioux Chronicle*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

Johnson, Edward. *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1975.

Jorgensen, Joseph. *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Kelley, William Fitch and Bovis, Pierre, eds. *Pine Ridge, 1890*. San Francisco: Pierre Bovis, 1971. Articles originally published in the *Nebraska State Journal*, November 29, 1890-January 16, 1891.

Knight, Oliver. *Following the Indian Wars*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

La Barre, Weston. *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970.

Lesser, Alexander. *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study of Cultural Change*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Linton, Ralph. *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1940.

Lott, Milton. *Dance Back the Buffalo*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1959.

Lowie, Robert. *Indians of the Plains*. Garden City: Natural History Press, 1954.

MacGregor, Gordon. *Warrior without Weapons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Marriott, Alice. *The Ten Grandmothers*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945.

Marshall, S. L. A. *Crimsoned Prairie*. New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1972.

Miller, David Humphreys. *Ghost Dance*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959.

Mooney, James. "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-1893*. Part 2. Washington, D.C., 1896.

Neihardt, John G. *Black Elk Speaks*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1932.

Olson, James C. *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

Pohrt, Richard. *The American Indian – The American Flag*. Catalog of an exhibition at the Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan, 1975.

Powell, Peter. *Sweet Medicine*. 2 vols. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Sialm, Placidus. *History of the Holy Rosary Mission*. Pine Ridge, South Dakota: n.d.

Smith, Rex Alan. *Moon of Popping Trees*. New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1975.

Standing Bear, Luther. *My People the Sioux*. Edited by E. A. Brininstool. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

Taylor, Colin. *The Warriors of the Plains*. London: Hamlyn, 1975.

Trenhorn, Virginia C. *The Arapahoes, Our People*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

Underhill, Ruth. *Red Man's Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Utley, Robert M. *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963.

Vestal, Stanley. *Warpath and Council Fire*. New York: Random House, 1948.

_____. *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1932.

Wallis, Wilson D. *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan*. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1918.

Wellman, Paul I. *Death on Horseback*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935.

Wheeler, Sessions. *The Desert Lake*. Caldwell, Indiana: Caxton Printers, 1967.

Whiting, Beatrice B. *Paiute Sorcery*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 15. New York, 1950.

Periodicals

Aberle, David F. "The Prophet Dance and the Reactions to White Contact." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15 (1959): 74-83.

Barber, Bernard. "Acculturation and Messianic Movements." *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941): 663-669.

Bourke, John G. "The Indian Messiah." *The Nation*, 4 December 1890, pp. 439-440.

Chamberlain, A. F. "New Religions among the North American Indians." *Journal of Religious Psychology*, 6 (1913): 1-49.

Dangberg, Grace. "Wovoka." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 11 (Summer, 1968): 5-53.

Du Bois, Cora. "The 1870 Ghost Dance." *University of California Anthropological Records*, 3 (1939).

Dusenberry, Verne. "The Northern Cheyenne, All They Have Asked for Is to Live in Montana." *Montana*, 5 (Winter, 1955): 23-40.

Fenton, W. N. and Kurath, Gertrude P. "The Feast of the Dead, or Ghost Dance at Six Nations Reservation." *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, 149 (1951).

Finley, Mrs. James A. "The Messiah Superstition." *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1891): 66-68.

Fletcher, Alice C. "The Indian Messiah." *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1891).

Gayton, Anna Hardwick. "The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California." *University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology*, 28, no. 3 (1930-1931): 57-82.

Goldfrank, Esther S. "Historic Change and Social Character: A Study of the Teton Dakota." *American Anthropologist*, 43 (April, 1956): 249-263.

Grinnell, George Bird. "Account of the Northern Cheyenne concerning the Messiah Superstition." *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1891): 62-67.

Hill, W. W. "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890." *American Anthropologist*, 43 (April, 1956): 523-527.

Hittman, Michael. "The 1870 Ghost Dance at the Walker River Reservation: A Reconstruction." *Ethnohistory*, 20 (1974): 247-278.

_____. "Ghost Dances, Disillusionment, and Opiate Addiction: An Ethnohistory of Smith and Mason Valley Paiutes." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1973.

Johnson, Dorothy. "Ghost Dance: Last Hope of the Sioux." *Montana*, 6 (July, 1956): 42-50.

Kroeber, Alfred E. "A Ghost Dance in California." *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1904): 32-35.

Kehoe, Alice B. "The Ghost Dance in Saskatchewan." *The Plains Anthropologist*, 13 (1968): 296-304.

Lesser, Alexander. "Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance." *American Anthropologist*, 35 (1933): 108-115.

Linton, Ralph. "Nativistic Movements." *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1943): 230-240.

Maus, Lieutenant Marion. "The New Indian Messiah." *Harper's Weekly*, 29 November 1890, p. 947.

Meighan, Clement and Riddell, Francis. "The Maru Cult of the Pomo Indians: A California Ghost Dance Survival." *Southwest Museum Papers*, 23 (1972).

Moorehead, W. J. "The Indian Messiah and the Ghost Dance." *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, 13 (1890): 161-167.

Murie, James R. "Pawnee Indian Societies." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, 11, part 7 (1914).

Parker, Mrs. Z. A. "Ghost Dance at Pine Ridge." *Journal of American Folklore*, 4 (1891): 160-162.

Remington, Frederic. "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota." *Harper's Weekly*, 24 January 1891, p. 57.

Spier, Leslie. "The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon." *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, 2, no. 2 (1927-1929): 39-56.

_____. "The Prophet Dance of the Nez Percé and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance." *American Anthropological Association*. General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, 1935.

Strong, William Duncan. "The Occurrence and Wider Implication of a 'Ghost Cult' on the Columbia River; Suggested by Carvings in Wood, Bone, and Stone." *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1945): 244-261.

Suttles, Wayne. "The Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 13 (1957): 352-396.

Sword, George. "The Story of the Ghost Dance." *Folklorist*, 1 (1892-1893): 28-31.

Voget, Fred. "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation." *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956): 249-263.

Walker, Deward E., Jr. "New Light on the Prophet Dance Controversy." *Ethnohistory*, 16 (1969): 245-255.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956): 264-281.

Watson, Elmo Scott. "The Last Indian War, 1890-91: A Study in Newspaper Jingoism." *Journalism Quarterly*, 20 (1943): 205-219.

Waterman, T. T. "The Shaker Religion of Puget Sound." *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report*, 1922, pp. 499-507.

Wilson, George. "The Sioux War." *The Nation*, 4 December 1890, pp. 29-30.

EXHIBITION STAFF

Samuel Sachs II, *Director*
Ellen Bradbury, *Curator of Primitive Art*
Moira Harris, Eileen Flory, Claire Berry, Shelli Ainsworth, Chula Ross, Marron McNulty, Betsy Dayton, *Research Assistants for the Exhibition*
Marilyn Bjorklund, *Registrar*
John Ryman, *Exhibition Designer*
Irwin Lucius, Robert Huber, Ivan Schwartz, Richard Colburn, Parrish Puckett, *Works of Art Crew*
Katherine Hedberg, *Curatorial Secretary*
Ruth Dean, *Designer*
Pamela Kahn, *Design Assistant*
Harold Peterson, *Editor*
Nancy Akre, *Editorial Assistant*
Barbara Gilbert, *Typist*
Gary Sherman, *Photographer*
Barbara Szurek, *Technical Assistant*
Jerry Downes, *Audio-Visual Supervisor*
Michael Kelly Denny, *Production Assistant*

ART EXHIBITION CATALOGUES REPUBLISHED ON MICROFICHE

Published on microfiche by:

Chadwyck-Healey Ltd
20 Newmarket Road
Cambridge CB5 8DT
England

Somerset House
417 Maitland Avenue
Teaneck, NJ 07666
USA

Date of publication and production of master: 1978

Series: The purpose of this series is to make available those catalogues that have lasting interest through their text or their illustrations. Catalogues and cumulations of titles in the series are available from the publishers.

Serial numbers: Each title is identified by a three-part serial number. The first part of the serial number designates the sales list in which the title was first announced. The second part indicates the agent of publication, i.e. the museum, gallery or organisation that was responsible for the publication of the catalogue. The third part of the serial number is the number allotted to that title.

Copyright: The microfiche edition is the copyright of Chadwyck-Healey Ltd.

Location of original: Courtauld Institute of Art, 20 Portman Square, London.

Technical data:

Producing laboratory: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd.

THE MINNEAPOLIS SOCIETY OF FINE ARTS

OFFICERS

Atherton Bean, *Chairman of the Board*
Philip B. Harris, *Vice Chairman of the Board and Chairman of the Executive Committee*
Jerome J. Hausman, *Vice President of the Board and President of The Minneapolis College of Art and Design*
Donald Marburg, *Vice President for Business Affairs and Assistant Treasurer*
Samuel Sachs II, *Vice President of the Board and Director of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts*
James V. Toscano, *Vice President for Resource Development and Public Relations*
Mrs. Stan D. Donnelly, Jr., *Secretary*
Clarence G. Frame, *Treasurer*
Dorothy S. Ryan, *Assistant Secretary*

HONORARY TRUSTEES

Russell H. Bennett
Theodore W. Bennett
Benton J. Case
John Cowles, Sr.
Thomas L. Daniels
Harold W. Sweatt
Donald Winston

TRUSTEES EX OFFICIO

Wendell R. Anderson, *Governor of Minnesota*
Hubert Humphrey III, *Senator from Minnesota*
Linda Berglin, *Minnesota House of Representatives*
Richard O. Hanson, *Chairman, Board of County Commissioners*
Charles Stenvig, *Mayor of Minneapolis*
Dale Gilbert, *President, Park and Recreation Board*
Marie C. Goss, *President, Library Board*
John M. Mason, *Chairperson, Board of Education*
C. Peter Magrath, *President, University of Minnesota*
Stephen Sell, *Executive Director, Minnesota State Arts Board*
Roger L. Anderson, *President, Friends of the Institute*
Frederick Winston, *President, Associates of the College of Art and Design*
Joseph E. Murphy, Jr., *Director, The Children's Theatre Company and School*
Gary B. Rappaport, *Director, The Children's Theatre Company and School*
Ralph S. Thornton, *President, Minneapolis Arts Forum*

TRUSTEES

Lauress V. Ackman
Timothy Adams
Mrs. John P. Anderson
Mrs. Roger L. Anderson
John E. Andrus III
Atherton Bean
Charles H. Bell
Dr. Howard A. Bellows
Mrs. William C. Blethen
Dr. David S. Bradford
Mrs. Harry L. Bratnober, Jr.
Peter M. Butler
Curtis L. Carlson
Benton J. Case, Jr.
William Crear, Jr.
Mrs. David P. Crosby
Mrs. Thomas M. Crosby
David M. Daniels
John B. Davis, Jr.
Bruce B. Dayton
Frederick L. Deming
Mrs. Stan D. Donnelly, Jr.
John F. Donovan
Harry M. Drake
Mrs. William N. Driscoll
Miles Q. Fiterman
Gerald T. Flom
Clarence G. Frame
George H. Gruenwald
Terrance Hanold
Philip B. Harris
Ronald M. Hubbs
Mrs. Carl W. Jones
Frank T. Kacmarcik
Maureen Kaplan
Mrs. Markle Karlen
Mrs. Robert E. Kasper
Mrs. Charles V. Krogness
David M. Lebedoff
Samuel H. Maslon
David T. McLaughlin
Mrs. Charles B. Meech
James A. Mullin
William F. Ogden, Jr.
Dwight D. Opperman
Paul L. Parker
Stephen R. Pflaum
Mrs. John S. Pillsbury, Jr.
Wayne G. Popham
Robert C. Roesler
Earl S. Sanford
Richard L. Schall
Andrew Scott
Walter D. Scott
Mrs. Blake Shepard
Otto A. Silha
Mrs. William P. Van Evera
Mrs. C. Steven Wilson
Thomas H. Wyman

=6505